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The COMMUNIST

VOL. VII JULY, 1928 NO. 7

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THE COMMUNIST

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

Published by the Workers (Communist) Party of America

BERTRAM D. WOLFE, *Editor*

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BEATRICE CARLIN, *Business Manager*

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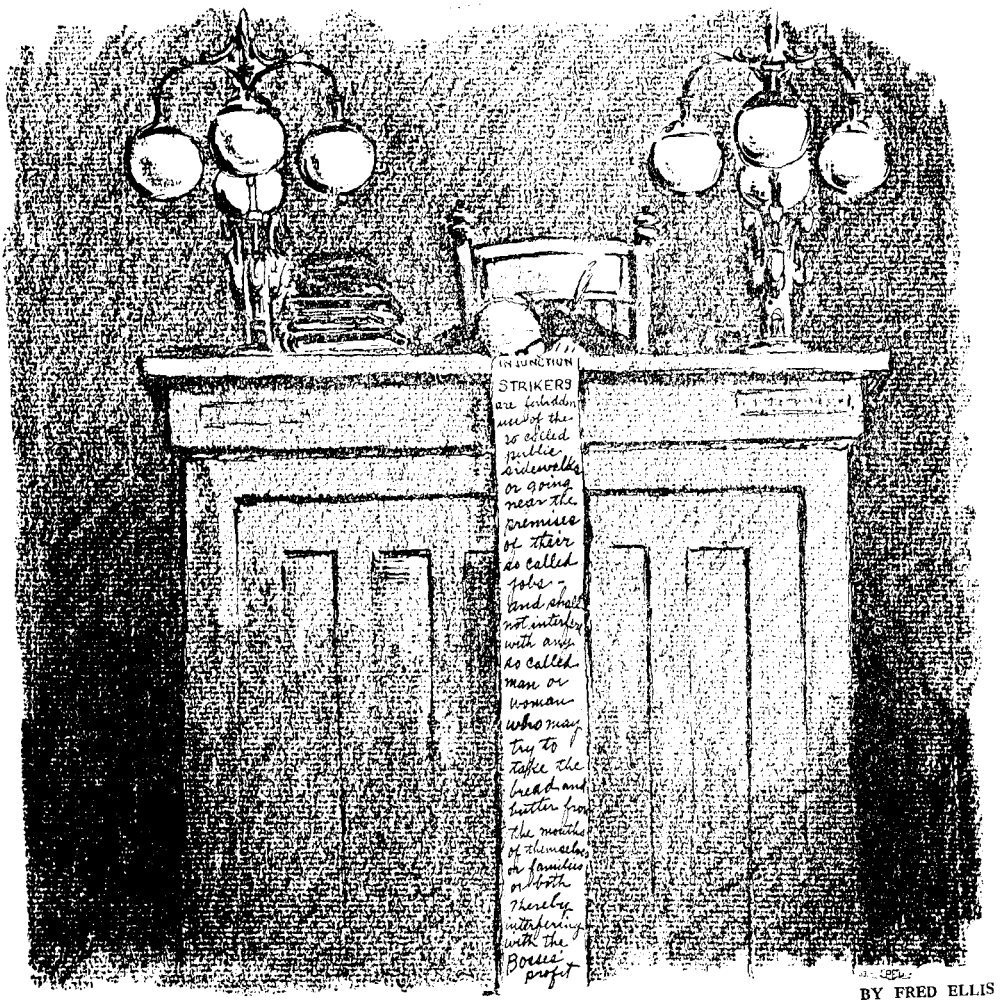

BY FRED ELLIS

THE UNITED FRONT OF CAPITAL

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Plenum Material

THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

(NOTE: At the February, and much more at the May Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Workers Party, the trade-union question was the center of a prolonged and thorough discussion. It is desirable that the whole Party and the entire working class should understand thoroughly the present crisis in the trade unions; and the tactics necessary to meet the crisis confronting the trade-union movement in the United States, to revolutionize the unions, to drive out the treacherous bureaucracy, to organize the mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers under revolutionary control and leadership; under what conditions new unions shall be organized, to equip the working class for more effective resistance to the offensive of trustified capital in the most powerful imperialist country, etc.

To familiarize the Party and its sympathizers with the Party's views on these important matters, the *Communist* offers its readers the following material:

1. The resolution on trade-union work adopted by the CEC. (This expresses the Party's policy.)

2. An article by William Z. Foster entitled "Old Unions and New Unions." (This article explains and elaborates the trade union thesis.)

3. An article by James P. Cannon differing somewhat from the trade-union resolution and the article of Comrade Foster.

The chief difference of Comrade Cannon's article with the CEC thesis lies in his tendency to accept many of the unjustified criticisms of Losovsky, levelled at our party's trade-union work, which are rejected by the CEC and described by Comrade Foster as "manifestly incorrect." Comrade Cannon raises issue only with the tone of these criticisms but not with the inaccuracy and incorrectness of a number of them. Thus Comrade Cannon writes: "No one can accuse Losovsky of over-politeness" but the CEC does not request politeness and does not seriously object to "impoliteness" in criticisms of its work. His article does say that "some of the criticisms do not correspond *literally* to the facts as we know them," thereby implying that they do apply to the spirit if not the letter of the facts. But the CEC was of the opinion that such viewpoints as expressed in Comrade Losovsky's remark about "metaphysical united front" and "dancing quadrilles" and "defer to the leaders of the reformist trade unions with requests to organize the unorganized, save unions, etc."—are neither "literally" nor in any other way "in accord with the facts as we know them."

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Comrade Cannon glosses over the CEC's rejection of some of Losovsky's criticisms with the remark: "Some comrades reacted quickly to those criticisms and attempted to dispute their validity." But it is not just "some comrades," but the CEC that "attempts to dispute their validity." Nor does the CEC agree with all the criticisms of the party's trade-union work expressed in Comrade Cannon's article. For this reason the Polcom instructed the *Communist* to publish Comrade Cannon's article with a foreword and instructed Comrade Foster to write an article in the same issue expressing the CEC's position. The above remarks do not mean to imply, of course, that Comrade Cannon's general position on trade-union tasks as expressed in his article is fundamentally at variance with that of the CEC's trade-union resolution.

The *Communist* also offers the following additional plenum material:

1. The political thesis adopted by the last plenum.

2. Excerpts from the closing speech of Comrade Lovestone at the plenum summarizing the discussion on the trade union question and the report of the Polcom.)

Resolution on Trade Union Work

(*Adopted by the May*, 1928 *Plenum of the CEC of the Workers Party*)

THE CEC endorses and reaffirms the general line for trade-union work laid down by the main party thesis and trade-union resolution adopted by the February plenum. The objective situation has not changed sufficiently to require any radical modification of this line; but in view of the Profintern resolution on the American question and various criticisms offered of our trade-union work by Comrade Losovsky in several articles and speeches a restatement of our general trade-union policy in addition to an outline of our main tasks becomes necessary.

THE INDUSTRIAL DEPRESSION

The analysis of the present industrial depression, made in the February thesis, remains valid. Unemployment continues as a mass phenomenon. Conservative estimates put the total number of unemployed at not less than 4,000,000. Increased activities in the automobile, steel, building industry, and various seasonal occupations, have not served to materially reduce the number of unemployed.

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Wage cuts have been widespread in the industries. Especially the unskilled, unorganized workers have suffered such wage reductions. In most instances organized skilled workers have as yet escaped wage cuts, and in a few cases have secured small wage increases. In many instances direct wage cuts were avoided through the capitalists cutting production costs by intense rationalization processes. In New Bedford some capitalist engineers have even criticized the wage cut as inadvisable, stating that the employers should have cut production costs by modernizing their plants and speeding up their workers.

The February thesis correctly summed up as follows the radicalizing effects upon the workers of this added pressure and exploitation:

> "The sharpening of American imperialist policy and the rising wave of capitalist attack upon the organizations and standards of living of the working masses result from these new difficulties confronting American capitalism. The attempt of the American ruling-class to solve the present contradictions by additional pressure upon the toiling masses at home and intensified imperialist exploitation abroad, will, in the coming period, call forth bitter resentment of the masses, strike movements and readiness for organized struggles among large sections of the workers. Our party must therefore prepare itself, ideologically and organizationally, to organize and lead the impending mass struggles."

Developments since the February plenum have justified this forecast of an increasing mood for struggle amongst large sections of the workers. This is especially manifest among the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled who are suffering the most from unemployment, wage cuts, and the speed-up system. The New Bedford textile strike and the bitter resistance of the coal miners indicate a developing fighting spirit among the workers. A highly important and significant strike was that of the employees of the General Motors plant in Oshawa, Canada. This strike of erstwhile privileged automobile workers arose directly out of the rapidly worsening conditions in the industry and is a forerunner of inevitable big struggles in the near future in the automobile industry. The rubber workers are again beginning to stir under the heavy pressure to which they are being subjected. The strike of the Bayonne oil workers was another sign of the growing discontent of the unskilled workers. In the meat packing industry a similar unrest prevails, marked by an exceptionally favorable response to party activities carried on among these workers.

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THE CRISIS IN THE UNIONS

The A. F. of L. unions, comprising principally skilled workers and dominated by the hopelessly reactionary Green bureaucracy, are more clearly than ever demonstrating their inability to organize the great masses of workers in their struggles against the employers and the State. The breakdown of the miners' union in the face of the employers' offensive, coming in the train of a steady weakening of the labor movement in its most strategic sections, throws the very life of the trade-union movement into jeopardy. Open-shop sentiment spreads rapidly among employers. They are awaiting the favorable opportunity to deal even more vital blows at the unions.

The trade-union leadership, confronted by this growing attack, hopes to maintain at least a semblance of organization, to serve their particular group interests, by a policy of complete surrender to the employers by company-unionizing the trade unions and degenerating them into auxiliaries of the capitalists' exploiting mechanism. Among the more recent manifestations of this are: the adoption of the Mitten Plan by the Street Carmen's Union, the open endorsement by A. F. of L. officials of the proposals of the American Bar Association for a national anti-strike law, the brazen endorsement of Hoover by large numbers of union officials, the profit-sharing agreement among the Nova Scotia miners, the treacherous policy of textile union officials in New Bedford, the betrayal of the Oshawa strike, Lewis' proposals to Watson-Parkerize the coal industry, the increasing servility to American imperialism in all its manifestations. The trade unions, shrinking in numbers, reduced principally to the labor aristocracy, increasingly dominated by ultra-reactionary leaders, driven from the basic into lighter industries, become less and less a weapon in the hands of the workers and more and more an instrument of the employers against the working class.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

The major industrial task confronting our Party is the organization of the great masses of unorganized workers and to lead them in struggle against the employers and the State. The present situation, with masses of workers gradually developing a mood for struggle, offers exceptional opportunities for success in this basically important work. Every available force of the Party must be mobilized for organizing the unorganized. The growth

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and development of our Party is bound up with our activities in this direction.

The CEC is in full agreement with Comrade Losovsky in laying the utmost stress on the organization of the unorganized and the formation of new unions where the old unions do not exist or cannot function. A clear recognition of our great tasks in organization of the unorganized and an energetic carrying out of these tasks is basic to the further growth and development of our Party.

But the CEC must disagree with a number of Comrade Losovsky's criticisms of our policy. In his article in the Communist International of March 15, he says that our policy is always to "defer to the leaders of the reformist trade unions with requests to organize the unorganized, save the unions, lead strikes, etc." This is not correct. The CEC does not suffer from any illusions that the trade-union leaders will organize the unorganized. On the contrary, it has laid the greatest stress upon the fact that these leaders, basing themselves upon the skilled workers, sabotage as a settled policy, every attempt to organize the great masses. It has emphasized very clearly that the organization of the unorganized, whether in the case of forming new unions or by building up the old ones, must be done by the left-wing. Repeatedly it has warned against the tendency of comrades in the unions to believe because a union has adopted an organization resolution that the reactionary officialdom would actually put it into effect. In the TUEL pamphlet "Organize the Unorganized" a whole chapter is devoted to demonstrating the fact that the "left wing must do the work of organizing the great masses of unskilled."

Likewise, the CEC cannot accept the criticism that it calls upon the reactionary trade union officialdom to save the unions and to lead strikes. On the contrary, the Party has addressed the Save-the-Union slogan to the rank and file (exemplified by the miners campaign) and in all strikes of trade unions it has developed its own strike strategy and sought to wrest control of these strikes from the reactionary leaders. It has laid the greatest stress upon the necessity of a bitter struggle against such leaders during strikes.

Comrade Losovsky, in his desire to stress the unquestionably growing necessity for independent trade unions in the United States for the accomplishment of the task of organizing the unorganized, overstates his case by charging that our party is practically opposed in principle to the organization of independent unions. He says:

> "The situation in America is such that it is necessary to form unions in all those branches of industry where there is either no organization or where what exists is practically negligible."

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But this is already the policy of our Party. It puts the matter in a wrong light to say that we are "dancing a quadrille the whole time around the A. F. of L. and its various unions." The fact is, our policy is based on A. F. of L. unions only in those industries and crafts where they have real mass organization. In industries where the unions are decrepit or dying, such as shoes, textile, needle, marine transport, mining, steel, etc., our policy is based either entirely upon independent unions or increasingly so. In wholly unorganized industries, such as rubber, automobiles, meat packing, etc., our policy is to support the formation of new unions. Our Party has also supported the I. W. W. as an organization of agricultural workers. What must be stressed is that the present situation demands very much more energy on our part in building these new unions.

We may be justly criticized for not making greater progress in the actual building of new organizations. So far we have accomplished very little in this respect. This failure may be explained on grounds of the difficult objective situation, the smallness of our forces, a lingering underestimation by our Party of trade union work generally, and a slowness of our Party in reorientating itself to a situation which has demanded a more decided emphasis on independent unionism. But it must be noted that in recent months the Party has made considerable headway in building new organizations of the workers in the mining, textile and needle trades. It is important for the success of such work that the Party district organizations in the cities where major campaigns center, are given a greater sense of responsibility for the carrying out of these campaigns.

THE NARROWING BASE OF THE A. F. OF L. UNIONS

Opponents of our Party have seized upon Comrade Losovsky's article in the Communist International and misinterpreted it into a repudiation of the entire program of working in the old unions and the initiation of an entirely new policy of dual unionism. But this is a mistake. Such added emphasis as may now be laid upon the formation of new unions is not a repudiation or rejection of our previous policy, but a development of it in accordance with a changing objective situation. When the old unions had a much wider mass base, when they were the chief organs of the struggle of the workers, it was correct that our party concentrate its main attention upon working within and through them, even though at that time also the question of organizing new unions in wholly unorganized industries was a burning one. But as their base narrows, as

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they become restricted more to skilled workers, and as, on the other hand the great unorganized masses, under the pressure of wage cuts, speed up, unemployment etc., begin to acquire more militant moods, the necessity for our Party to concentrate its major attention upon building new unions among the masses of unorganized becomes manifest. The Profintern resolution on the American question should have more clearly analyzed the narrowing base of the trade unions and the consequent added emphasis this puts upon the formation of new unions. The CEC reaffirms the following statement from the trade-union resolution of the February Plenum:

> "It would be a grave error to make a fetish of unity with the old unions at all costs and to act upon the principle of confining our activities to them entirely. The situation imperatively demands much more concentration than in the past for the building of new organizations, in line with the demand of the main thesis to concentrate the major attention upon the more exploited and unorganized sections of the working class. One important reason for this is the narrowing base of the A. F. of L. and the great 1919-22 employers' offensive. The A. F. of L. and the established independent unions were intrenched in many basic industries, such as steel, railroads, coal mining, marine transport, textile, meat packing, etc. New independent unions played a very small role in the strikes of the workers in this period. At the present time the situation is greatly changed. The trade unions have been completely wiped out or badly crippled in many industries, including steel, meat packing, textiles, mining, marine transport, railroads, etc., and have largely lost their hegemony over those groups of workers. In many other industries where the trade unions are incapable of defending their interests, the workers, under the weight of industrial depression and the employers' offensive will seek organization with which to defend themselves. We must meet this need by promptly, resolutely and aggressively proceeding to the formation of new unions. We must not make a fetish of the established unions. Such new unions as may be formed should be connected up together and affiliated to the main mass of the labor movement providing that such affiliation is made in such a way as to safeguard and promote left-wing policy and leadership."

It must be admitted that our Party has been slow to draw the full implications from the narrowing base of the trade unions—

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their tendency to restrict themselves more to skilled workers; the strong rightward drift of the leadership; and the growing demands of the great unorganized mass of semi-skilled and unskilled for organization—by taking aggressive steps for the organization of new unions. In the February Plenum thesis the tardiness of the Party's reorientation in the mining industry was acknowledged. Similar delay manifested itself in other industries.

The present period marks a decline of the traditional craft-unionism and beginnings of a new unionism among the great masses of unorganized. It is of the most vital consequence that our Party take the lead in this struggle for a new unionism. The growing demand of the harassed unorganized masses for organization, the breakdown of the old unions under the employers' attacks, constitute a new situation and require a much stronger orientation towards building new unions among the unorganized masses. Very necessary is a clear statement analyzing our developing policy in this respect in accordance with the changing objective conditions. This will refute the charges of our opponents that our previous policy has been wrong and that we have now gone back to a program of dualism. Comrade Losovsky's articles and speeches, although containing several unjustified criticisms of our policy, have served to focus our attention more definitely upon the whole question of formation of new unions and our relations to the old organizations.

WORK IN THE OLD TRADE UNIONS

Our Party needs a more definite analysis of the situation in the old trade unions and more concrete plans for work within them. This specific analysis and definite program are all the more necessary at this time in view of the crisis in the unions, the industrial depression and the added emphasis being laid on the building of new unions.

The combined trade unions still have a membership of approximately 3,000,000. These we cannot surrender to the leadership of the reactionary bureaucrats. We must continue and extend our work among these organizations, to build our Party, and to capture the rank and file from control of the reactionaries. Our Party has behind it the general left wing tradition of thirty years of dual unionism. At best, it is difficult to work in reactionary American trade unions. Should there be the slightest minimizing of the importance of this work, inevitably there would be a tendency on the part of our comrades to neglect it and

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to desert the old unions. This can be counteracted only by clearly stating the necessity of Communists working within the A. F. of L. unions and laying down programs for this work.

> "Together with this it is absolutely necessary for Communists to continue and strengthen their activity in trade unions affiliated to the reactionary A. F. of L. in order to form there a strong left wing." (From C. I. Resolution.)

The crisis slogan "Save-the-Trade-Unions" put out in the recent National Conference of the Trade Union Educational League is a slogan which if properly applied in its various forms can be utilized to mobilize masses of the organized workers for struggle against the trade-union leaders and employers. This is amply demonstrated by the experience in the mining industry. Although this slogan with the amendments suggested by the Comintern can be used in a general way as applied to the crisis in the labor movement as a whole, its specific application should be restricted to such unions as possess a mass character and a degree of vitality. In such unions, as the workers are confronted with eventual wage cuts and open shop attacks, they can be rallied with this slogan for defense of their organizations and standards. The "Save-the-Union" slogan should always be coupled up with a program for generally revolutionizing the unions, including amalgamation, organize the unorganized, fire the reactionary leaders, against class-collaboration, etc. It would be a mistake to assume that all the A. F. of L. unions are moribund and that none of them possess the possibilities of expansion and continued existence as mass organizations. With the inevitable sharpening of the industrial crisis, the old unons, building trades, printing trades, general transport unions, railroad trades, etc., will certainly be subjected to wage slashings and open-shop attacks by the employers. The workers will resist. The perspective is for important labor struggles in the near future by the old trade unions and against the policies of the reactionary leaders. The "Save-the-Union" slogan will play a part in rallying the organized workers under left-wing leadership. But it would be wrong to use the "Save-the-Union" slogan in such decrepit organizations as the boot and shoe workers, steel workers, butchers workers, etc.

In the coming period our Party will in many instances be confronted with the necessity of building independent unions in given industries, while at the same time maintaining or developing an organizational left wing in craft unions of the same industry where these have a mass character. This may soon be the case in the

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mining industry. It is already the situation in the textile industry. To work out correct strategy in such circumstances will require freedom of the Party on the one hand from the fetish of dual unionism, and on the other from that of unity with the old unions at any price.

Comrade Losovsky makes severe strictures upon our united front policy in the unions, stating that we are carrying out a "metaphysical misinterpretation" of the united front policy, and leaving the impression that we have in a roundabout way a united front with the reactionaries. This is, of course, erroneous. Even though we are in many cases compelled by force of circumstances to remain in the same organization as the reactionary leaders, this by no means implies that we have a united front with them. Our Party is in open conflict with the reactionary trade-union leadership on all fronts. It must be so. On the other hand, we must continue to make united fronts with the progressive elements in the trade unions against the reactionaries on the basis of minimum programs, basing these united fronts upon mass pressure from below. In the main, our policy in this respect has been correct, although in some instances, in our eagerness to develop a broad fighting front, we have associated ourselves with indefensible elements, notably in the case of Brennan in the anthracite.

BUILD THE FRACTION APPARATUS

With the party laying more stress upon the building of new unions and with the increasing tendency of the masses to struggle, the necessity for intensifying our trade union work in all directions becomes more urgent. One of the basic problems confronting us is the building of the party trade-union fractions. The central apparatus must be greatly strengthened and one comrade definitely assigned to the organization of Party fractions, issuance of the Party bulletin, etc. The policy of strengthening the fractions must be extended throughout every district in the Party. Without a strong and well-functioning system of fractions our work in the trade unions cannot mobilize the full strength of our Party in this vital task.

BUILD THE TUEL

The building of the TUEL is not being sufficiently supported. The impetus given by the recent national conference of the left wing was not followed up by an intensive campaign of organization in the various industrial centers. This condition must be

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remedied. The CEC thoroughly endorses the great stress laid upon the building and strengthening of the TUEL in the resolution on the American question, adopted by the World Congress of the Profintern. Active steps must be taken at once to establish left-wing local, general and industrial groups in all the important industrial centers. The return of the Profintern delegation offers an exceptional opportunity to accomplish this organization. Conferences and general meetings of left wingers and progressives should be organized at once in all the important industrial centers, to hear reports from the local Profintern delegates. These conferences must be used to establish a definite left-wing organization.

The TUEL should aggressively play the role of directly organizing the workers into labor unions. The TUEL should develop campaigns in such industries as mining, steel, oil, automobiles, rubber, shoe, textile, chemicals, metal, marine transport, meat packing, and lumber industries.

The CEC endorses the great stress laid by the Profintern upon the organization of Negro workers and also the policy laid down for such organization. The CEC emphasizes the necessity of the Party aggressively putting into effect the general program of work among the Negroes, recently adopted by the CEC.

Important in the matter of organizing the unorganized were the provisions made at the last National Conference of the TUEL to include unorganized workers in its various left-wing groups. This establishes a definite bond between the organized and unorganized militants and lays the foundation for organization campaigns in the respective industries. In every important industrial center the left-wing group should not only contain the revolutionary and progressive elements from the existing unions, but from all the important local factories and industries. Up till now little has been done by the party and the left wing to bring about this important modification.

The CEC signalizes and endorses those sections of the Profintern resolution stressing the necessity of the left wing's maintaining and strengthening its international contacts, and outlining its policies for joint action with the respective International Propaganda Committees, with the Pan-Pacific Secretariat, with the Latin American Secretariat and the left-wing movement in Canada. The Party must give increasing attention to the development of comrades to take leading parts in the trade-union work. A start has been made in this direction in the Workers Schools, but the matter

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must be given more attention. It is absolutely essential for the development of the maximum effectiveness of the trade union work, that the number of qualified comrades be greatly increased in the near future.

YOUTH

The role of the youth in the trade-union work becomes more and more important with the tendency for the development of new unions among the workers in the basic unorganized industries. The leaders of this new unionism will be for the most part young workers. In realization of this fact, every stimulus must be exercised to draw the YWL into the trade-union work and to utilize it for the building of an effective body of young revolutionary trade-union leaders.

WOMEN

The great importance of work among women in the strengthening of the trade-union work in the Party generally, is emphasized again by our experiences in the mining industry. The women folk of the miners are playing a vital role in carrying through that great struggle. Our party has done far too little to organize these women. Our weakness among the women in the mining territories only emphasized the weakness of our work among working women generally. The Women's Section of the Party must be drawn more closely into the general trade-union activities of the Party.

IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

The February Thesis and trade-union resolution outlined our general program in trade-union work, including the fight against imperialism and the war danger; for the defense and recognition of the Soviet Union; against wage cuts, the speed-up, unemployment, class collaboration; for a Labor Party; for the shorter work-day and work-week. It is not necessary here to restate those policies but only to emphasize their application with the maximum forces of the party . . . *

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*The rest of the resolution consists of a series of directions for work in various fields such as mining, textile, needle, automobile, railroad, shoe, rubber, metal, metal mining, marine transport, etc., etc.

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Old Unions and New Unions

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

THE central matter of discussion at the recent CEC plenum was the trade-union question. The discussion, one of the most thoroughgoing in the history of the Party, turned specifically around the question of the organization of new unions. The general result was that, while stressing the necessity for continuing and intensifying our general activities in the old unions, very much more emphasis, our main emphasis in fact, is to be placed upon the formation of new unions to organize the unorganized. The trade-union resolution says:

> "The present period marks a decline of the traditional craft-unionism and the beginnings of a new unionism among the great masses of unorganized. It is of the most vital consequence that our Party take the lead in this struggle for a new unionism. The growing demand of the harassed unorganized masses for organization, the breakdown of the old unions under the employers' attacks, constitute a new situation and require a much stronger orientation towards building new unions among the unorganized masses."

The movement for the establishment of new unions comes from two directions: (1) From the necessity of creating organization in the unorganized industries; (2) From splits in the old unions in the semi-organized industries.

NEW UNIONS IN UNORGANIZED INDUSTRIES

The impulse for the formation of new unions in the unorganized basic industries comes from the pressure of the present industrial depression upon these masses of unorganized workers and from the total failure of craft-unionism in these industries.

It is especially the great mass of unorganized semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the basic industries who are now suffering from wage cuts, speed-up, unemployment, and generally worsening conditions. Under this pressure these masses of workers are developing an increasing mood for organization and struggle. This is exemplified by the New Bedford strike, the strike of the Oshawa automobile workers, the strike of the Bayonne oil workers, and the manifestly growing discontent in the rubber, meat-packing,

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electrical-manufacturing, and other unorganized industries. The demand for the building of unions among them is insistent and growing.

The old trade unions are manifestly unable to meet the situation and to serve as the organs of struggle for these discontented masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers. The situation was quite different during the employers' offensive in 1919-22. Then the old unions were widely established in the basic industries, including railroads, coal, steel, meat-packing, marine transport, etc. When the employers delivered their intensive assaults against the wage standards, hours, working conditions and organizations of the workers, the trade unions led the ensuing struggles in practically every industry. The role of independent unionism was almost nil. The I. W. W. had no big strikes. The battles of this period were the greatest in the history of the American working class. The trade unions, headed by betrayers, were the means through which the workers tried ineffectively to defend themselves.

The conditions are now radically changed. The old unions have been driven out of various of the basic industries completely, or their power has been so badly shattered that they can no longer function effectively. The struggle of 1919-22 was the decisive and losing stand of old-line trade unionism against trustified capital.

The existing unions have become more and more restricted to skilled workers and are increasingly basing themselves upon a policy of betraying the interests of the unskilled. In the 1919-22 offensive, the wages of the skilled workers, although somewhat favored, were also cut, which in many cases threw the skilled workers into the struggle. But in the present depression the organized skilled workers have largely escaped wage cuts, which tends to keep them out of the struggle and to make their organizations less capable of leading the masses of workers against the employers. The leaders of the old unions go faster and further to the right. Their program is one of company-unionizing the trade unions. They pass more and more into the service of the employers. This point needs no elaboration. The right wing leaders not only will not organize the great masses of workers, but they are one of the principal obstacles in the way of such organization.

Thus by the combined factors of the growing mood for struggle among the masses of super-exploited workers and the inability of the trade unions to furnish them the necessary organization and leadership, the formation of new unions among these workers becomes imperative. Always the problem of building unions in the

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unorganized industries was pressing; now it is more so than ever.

The new unions must, of course, be industrial in character. They must be led by militant fighters and be imbued with a revolutionary spirit. Craft-unionism and all its practices are obsolete in trustified American industry.

NEW UNIONS FROM SPLITS OF THE OLD ONES

The second general current leading to the formation of new unions comes from the development of splits in the old organizations. As the reactionary trade-union leaders travel further to the right, and as, in alliance with the employers, they put into effect more and more their program of company-unionizing the trade unions, inevitably those sections of the existing labor movement which feel most keenly the wage cuts, speed up, etc., and the employers' offensive generally, tend to revolt against these leaders and to establish new unions capable of defending their interests.

This tendency is most clearly illustrated by developments in the mining and needle industries. In both these industries the workers are being subjected to a rapid worsening of their conditions. And in both, the official union leaders, acting as tools of the bosses, have proven utterly incapable of organizing the great masses of unorganized and of protecting the standards won by the organized workers during long years of struggle. Under their leadership the old unions in each case have become worthless. They disintegrate in size, in control, in militancy. The leaders have warred relentlessly against all tendencies to make the unions fighting organizations. Their system of betrayals, expulsions, terrorism, etc., forces the rank and file movements for effective fighting unions to go in the direction of building new organizations. The miners, with their organization broken and their conditions ruined by the betrayals of their officials, have definitely announced the formation of a new union. In the needle industry the trend towards a new union is far advanced in the case of ILGWU and furriers and for the same general reasons. The paths to this end have been somewhat different in the two industries, but the general direction has been inexorably the same. The coal miners and needle workers constituted the most advanced, most proletarian sections in the A. F. of L. Similar developments may be expected in other reactionary A. F. of L. unions when like pressure of wage-cuts, etc., is forced upon them.

The mining and needle trades unions were the most important fields of left-wing activity in the trade-union movement. The

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development of new union tendencies amongst them together with the building of separate unions among the totally unorganized workers shifts all the more decisively our center of gravity to the formation of new unions as our basic trade-union policy.

WORK IN THE OLD UNIONS

Although the situation imperatively demands very much more stress upon the building of new industrial unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries, it would be a great mistake to conclude from this that we shall abandon our work in the old unions. The CEC trade-union resolution says:

> "The combined trade unions still have a membership of approximately 3,000,000. These we cannot surrender to the leadership of the reactionary bureaucrats. We must continue and expand our work among these organizations, to build our Party, and to capture the rank and file from control of the reactionaries."

The trade-union movement is in a life and death crisis. With its reactionary leadership, obsolete forms of organization, and antiquated practices, it cannot stand in the face of trustified industry. It would be a grave mistake to think that all these old unions generally can recover their lost ground, remodel themselves, and develop into real fighting organs of the masses. Undoubtedly very many are slated for destruction. Others will degenerate into near-company unions. The traditional craft union movement is doomed.

On the other hand, it would also be a serious error to conclude that all of them are practically dead. Many, such as the building trades, railroad trades, printing trades, etc., still possess a mass character and much vitality. Signs of a growing industrial depression multiply, and with the development of this depression the employers will intensify their attacks upon the trade unions. Discontent will spread among large masses of organized workers. They will resist, despite the class collaboration policy of the leaders. It is a major task of the Party to organize this resistance in the old unions. To do this the TUEL must be built into a mass left wing in the unions, and there conduct a militant struggle to revolutionize these unions. With its slogans of "Organize the Unorganized," "Amalgamation," "Strike Against Wage Cuts," "Fire Reactionary Leaders," etc., etc., the TUEL will lead the fight in the old unions against the reactionary leaders and the employers.

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The slogan "Save the Trade Unions" can be utilized to mobilize the opposition in the old unions. As the organized workers see that their unions are being threatened with destruction by the employers' attacks, the more progressive and militant among them will unite to defend their organizations, using some form of the Save-the-Union slogan. The middle group will tend to organize and co-operate with the left wing. The so-called Muste Group, while not in itself large, is an evidence of this tendency. To consolidate the real opposition forces in the old unions is the task of the TUEL. It would be incorrect, however, to use the "Save the Trade Union" slogan in such decrepit organizations as those of the boot and shoe workers, steel workers, butcher workmen, etc.

A FLEXIBLE POLICY

Our Party trade-union policy must have three general phases: 1. The establishment of new unions in the unorganized and semi-organized industries; 2. The building and functioning of a left wing in the old unions; 3. The combination of both building new unions and working in the old unions in given industries.

Just a few words of explanation about the third phase of our policy: Undoubtedly in some instances, in the coming period, we will confront a situation where in a given industry there exists on the one hand a new union, and on the other hand remnants of the old organization. The prospect is for this state of affairs in the mining, textile and needle industries. In such situations we must not only build the new organizations, but also develop an organized TUEL opposition in the old ones wherever they have a mass character. The new unions and the opposition in the old unions must work jointly for a revolutionary labor movement.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

The organization of the unorganized masses is the major industrial task of the Party. The foregoing paragraphs point to the general organization line this work must take. The CEC trade-union resolution definitely outlines our specific tasks in the various industries. To repeat these here is not necessary. But it is necessary to emphasize that our Party throw its full forces into the work. It cannot function in a leading role in the American class struggle unless it is the leader in the building of the new unionism.

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Very important for the succcess of this organizing work is the systematic establishment of Party nuclei and shop papers in the strategic industries. These will serve as invaluable points of contact for the launching of organization and strike movements.

In our basic work of organizing the unorganized, the TUEL will play an important role. In addition to functioning as the left wing in the old unions, the TUEL will launch and carry through campaigns to organize the unorganized into new unions. In many instances it will also serve as a center for various local unions until definite national union centers can be established. The building of the TUEL in all industrial centers, and the drawing into it of groups of representative workers from all the unorganized local industries, becomes vitally important in organizing the unorganized.

The new industrial unions can be established only in the face of most bitter resistance from the employers. Old line trade unionism in the United States as well as in Germany, England and other countries was built up while industry was still in a competitive state. It will be quite a different thing to establish the new unionism in the face of gigantic combinations of capital and the violently hostile government of the United States. But difficult though the task may be, our Party must plunge into it with all its resources.

LOSOVSKY'S CRITICISMS

Much point was lent to the CEC plenum discussions by the caustic criticisms of Comrade Losovsky of our trade-union policies. Many of these criticisms are manifestly incorrect, such as charges that we are "dancing quadrilles around the A. F. of L," that we "always defer to the leaders of the reformist trade unions with requests to organize the unorganized, save the unions, lead strikes, etc.,", that we have "metaphysical misconceptions of the united front, etc." Comrade Losovsky also fails to sufficiently analyze the American situation and to give a clear line for our work inside the old unions, and the relation this will bear to the establishment of new organizations. These objections are dealt with in detail in the trade-union resolution, and need not be discussed here again. But what is valuable in Comrade Losovsky's criticism is that it calls sharply, even if violently, to the attention of the Party the timely question of establishing new unions.

Although our Party, within the past two or three years, has been increasingly supporting the formation of new unions and directly carrying through the organization of the unorganized in the various industries, as exemplified by our policies in the automobile, needle, coal, shoe, textile, meat-packing, marine transport, and other in-

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dustries, nevertheless, we have not done this with a clear enough perspective as to where we were going. Nor have we thrown a fraction of the necessary energy into the work. We have been too slow to draw the full implications of the pressure of the industrial depression upon the unorganized masses of semi-skilled and unskilled and the breakdown of the old trade unions, both of which factors greatly emphasize the necessity of establishing new unions. The Party has oriented itself too slowly to the formation of new unions. Comrade Losovsky's articles and speeches, despite their harsh tone and frequent inaccuracy and insufficiency, serve to emphasize this problem and to give us needed stimulation in its clarification.

Opponents of our movement such as the I. W. W., One Big Union, Lore, etc., etc., seize upon Comrade Losovsky's criticisms and attempt to twist them into a refutation of our general Party policy. They claim that Comrade Losovsky's attitude constitutes a reversal of our policy of boring within the old unions, and a justification of their dual unionism. But this is nonsensical. The organizational thesis of the 4th Congress of the RILU says:

> "In the United States the RILU adherents should develop and strengthen their activity in the unions affiliated to the reactionary American Federation of Labor."

Our basic trade-union policy remains the same. It was right in the past and it is right now. It has nothing in common with traditional dual unionism! We participate actively in all mass trade unions and seek to revolutionize them. The question at issue is one of emphasis. The objective situation demands that we put much more emphasis upon the establishment of new unions. But it does not imply that we shall abandon the old organizations. Our flexible policy of building new unions and working within the old ones where they have a mass character is quite a different thing from the inflexibe sectarian dualism of the I. W. W.

On the one hand, we must guard against the fetish of unity with the old trade unions at any cost, and on the other hand, of independent unionism in all cases. Either of these wrong policies would isolate us from the masses. Our present policy is a continuation and a development of our old policy. Wherein it differs from that of the past is that it lays more stress upon the formation of new unions, in accordance with the changed objective situation.

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Trade-Union Questions

By JAMES P. CANNON

AT THE Plenary meeting of the Central Executive Committee held in the last week of May, 1928, the trade-union question was the center of the discussion. This was inevitable.

Big changes are taking place in the labor movement. We have gone through big struggles in the trade-union field which call for an evaluation of the experiences gained and the drawing of inferences as a guide to future work. The recent World Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions adopted a resolution on America, and our trade-union policies and work have recently come in for sharp criticism from Comrade Losovsky in his speeches at the recent Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions and in special articles in the press.

Comrade Losovsky's speeches and articles were so sharp in tone and so drastic in condemnation as to set the Party buzzing and even to provide our opponents with a basis for discussion and moralization. Some comrades reacted quickly to these criticisms and attempted to dispute their validity. The Plenum of the CEC hummed with a discussion of the questions raised by these criticisms; and the discussion there was only a beginning. A thorough consideration of all aspects of the trade-union question in America is the order of the day.

PERSPECTIVES

The first point is the question of perspective. Where are we going, what are the factors in the situation, and what is the general trend? Clarification on this point is necessary first. Confusion, or the reconciling of conflicting perspectives in one thesis or resolution, is a source of errors and of conflict between programs and practices. Such a state of affairs is intolerable.

The trade-union resolution adopted at the May Plenum of the CEC quotes from and reaffirms the estimate of the February Plenum on the growing industrial depression and its radicalizing effects upon the workers. This outlook is entirely correct.

The resolution predicts a growing unrest of the workers and sees a prospect of big struggles, particularly in fields where the workers

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are unorganized, such as the automobile, rubber, textile and meat packing industries. Great masses of workers are employed in these industries, they are fiercely exploited, the existing trade unions offer them no protection, and their mood for struggle is growing.

These factors determine our orientation. The only possible line for the Communist Party in the present situation is to calculate upon a growing unrest of the workers and an increasing will to struggle and to put the main emphasis and center of gravity in its trade-union work on the organization of the unorganized and the preparation for strikes.

THE DECLINE OF THE OLD UNIONS

In recent years, the A. F. of L. unions, retreating before the assaults of the employers, have been declining in numbers and narrowing their base even more to skilled workers. The smashing of such unions as the steel workers, packing house workers, and railroad shop crafts has robbed the A. F. of L. of a large mass of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who were a source of strength and a reservoir of militancy. This has wrought a profound change in its basic composition. The disintegration of the United Mine Workers Union tremendously accelerates this process and raises very sharply the whole question of the future course and development of the American labor movement.

One of the hallmarks of the A. F. of L. unions under the leadership of the dominant bureaucrats has been an absolute incapacity for struggle against the Open Shop offensive. The policy of resistance has been replaced by the theory and practice of retreat and surrender; the "labor" leaders appeal for the right of the old organizations to exist in company-unionized form, by consent of the employers, as agencies of efficient production.

This course corresponds with the policy of the ruling bureaucracy. These bosses of the unions not only present no fighting program for the safe-guarding of the unions, but openly and systematically sabotage every impulse in this direction coming from the rank and file. Their crusade against the Communists and the left wing is a part of their policy of erecting barriers against the unskilled and unorganized workers and of stamping out the remnants of militancy in the existing unions in order, as they hope, to render them acceptable to the employers.

A degeneration of class spirit in the old unions is the inevitable outcome of such a course. An inability to defend the existing unions and labor standards and an incapacity to organize the unor-

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ganized workers—the key to the future of organized labor in America—follow from it.

THE CRISIS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The American labor movement today is in a profound crisis. Our estimation of trade-union problems and the formulation of tactics must proceed from this premise.

The crisis in the labor movement consists in the fact that the trade unions are being broken up by the growing offensive of the bosses and the black treachery and anti-proletarian policy of the official trade-union leadership. The unions are decreasing in membership, narrowing down more and more to a caste of skilled workers and growing more incapable of defending the existing standards and of organizing the unorganized and unskilled.

The crisis in the trade unions must be taken together with the position of the American working class as a whole, the increasing pressure put upon the masses of unorganized workers in the basic industries and their reaction to it. Failure to proceed from this general standpoint will lead to false and one-sided conclusions.

The growing unrest of the workers in many industries and their increasing readiness for struggle brook no delay. The future of the American labor movement is bound up with this question. The prospect of big struggles is on the agenda of the proximate future and for these struggles organization forms must be provided.

The existing unions, manned and officered by agents of the bosses, will not provide these forms and will not organize the unorganized masses for struggle. On the contrary, the present trade-union officialdom will strive in every way to prevent the organization of these workers and will develop even more open and notorious methods of treachery against them in the coming battles.

The old faker-ridden unions failed to organize the workers in the preceding years of prosperity. With their narrowing base and increasing tendency to become guilds of labor aristocrats, and with the reactionary leaders tightening their death grip upon them, they will serve even less as the medium of organizing the masses of unskilled and unorganized in the period that lies ahead.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED

No two opinions on this question can be allowed. We must face this issue squarely and give a clear and definite answer. Otherwise the formulation of correct tactics for the left wing—one of

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the most decisive factors in the future development of the American labor movement—will be impossible.

It is the historic task of the Communist Party and the left wing to organize the unorganized masses of workers, forming new unions without hesitation in all cases where the old unions do not exist or cannot function as real organs of struggle. This does not stand in contradiction to the continuation and intensification of our work within the old unions, even the most reactionary, but is bound up with it in one task. We are not confronted with the question of "either one or the other," but of combining the two together in a united policy. The real tactical question facing the left wing is the question of emphasis, of center of gravity, in trade-union work in the period at hand. That emphasis belongs undoubtedly to the work of organizing the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in the heavier industries who are now unorganized, who are destined to play the decisive role in the class-struggle and whom the trade-union bureaucracy cannot and will not organize.

COMRADE LOSOVSKY'S CRITICISM

Has the Party been following the right line in these vital questions up till now? Were the critical remarks of Comrade Losovsky justified by actual facts?

Conflicting answers have been given to these questions, but I am of the opinion that if we face the matter objectively and with an eye single to the elaboration of the correct tactics for the future, a conflict on these points can arise only between those who have conflicting views on the main problems of our trade-union work. In any case, the questions must be answered because our future work cannot be separated entirely from the past.

No one can accuse Comrade Losovsky of over-politeness or of understatement of the faults of the Party's trade-union work. He accused the Party straight out of appealing to 'the leaders of the reformist trade unions to organize the unorganized, save the unions, lead strikes, etc.", and he says we have been hampered by a false interpretation of united-front tactics and a "fetish of dual unionism" which prevented us from starting to form new unions of unorganized workers.

There is no doubt that some of Comrade Losovsky's criticisms were couched in exaggerated terms, and some of them do not correspond literally to the facts as we know them. But there is likewise no doubt that his strictures contain a good kernel of truth and that they, together with the resolution of the Red International Congress,

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have helped the Party decisively in overcoming inertia and straightening its line on this important question.

RESOLUTIONS AND PRACTICE

It is true, if we want to be formalistic, we can point to resolutions adopted at various times during the past year to show that we understood the right line on the organization of the unorganized and provided for everything. But the trouble with us has been a lethargy in taking the decisive steps to put our resolutions into practice when opportunities presented themselves—and this is precisely the main point of Comrade Losovsky's criticism.

It is easy to cite objective difficulties as a reason for our slackness in attempting to organize new unions in new fields or in fields where the old unions are disintegrating. The difficulties are many and easy to enumerate—but this, in my opinion, only begs the question. The point at issue is not simply how much we succeeded with the work of organizing the unorganized into new unions, but how much we really tried where we had the chance and how much we were held back by inhibitions and reservations regarding the full import of our own resolutions.

Why were we asleep in Colorado, allowing the I. W. W. to monopolize the organization of the coal miners and to introduce new elements of confusion and reaction into the miners' situation? Why did we not begin a year ago at least to form the nucleus of a new union of the unorganized miners in the coal fields of Western Pennsylvania whom the Lewis machine deserted and betrayed—and thus prepare a foundation for the strike attempted there in April of this year? And why was there a delay of a whole year after the beginning of the coal strike before the left wing held its open National Conference because of the possible implications of such a direct challenge to the Lewis machine?

The argument that we were behind-hand in these matters only because of the lack of forces does not hold water. That might be an explanation of failure if we had really made the attempt. The true answer must be sought in a certain disparity between our resolutions on the trade-union question and our actual practice; in a certain hesitancy in carrying them out in their full implications.

The criticism of Comrade Losovsky and the Resolution of the Red International Congress have stimulated us to close this gap. The trade-union resolution adopted at the Plenum of the Central Executive Committee is abolutely right when it says our failure to

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make greater progress with the actual building of new organizations can be explained, among other obvious reasons, by "a slowness of our Party in orientating itself to a situation which has demanded a more decided emphasis on independent unionism."

SELF-CRITICISM

Of course the dogmatists of independent unionsm in principle and at all costs, now step forward with the claim that they were always right and we were always wrong. That was to be expected because it is a long time since they have had anything to talk about. But their words are just as hollow now as they have been in the past. The Communist Party, with its correct tactics, has been in the center of practically every fight of the workers of America in recent years while the tactics of these dogmatists of separatism have side-tracked them from the living movements and mass struggles of the workers and converted their organizations into isolated sects.

I think some comrades are inclined to attach undue importance to the arguments of these sectarians. To cite their propaganda as a reason for soft-pedalling an open and straightforward review and discussion of our experiences and problems would lead us astray entirely. The fear of "what our opponents will say" has often been a refuge from self-criticism and an obstacle to the elaboration of correct tactics. It is our task to examine our problems and to practice self-criticism in the true Bolshevik manner, disregarding the apostles of isolation and all other opponents of our policy.

WORK IN THE OLD UNIONS

The trade-union resolution adopted by the CEC is a necessary supplement to the Resolution of the Red International and is not in contradiction to it. Both resolutions proceed from the same perspective of a sharpening of the class-struggle with more frequent clashes between the workers and the capitalists. Both resolutions assign the decisive role to the unorganized workers in the basic industries and orientate their policy accordingly.

The resolution of the CEC gives a necessary and more elaborate analysis of the situation within the existing unions and calls for an intensification of our work within them to win the rank and file workers away from the control of the reactionaries.

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Increased and intensified work within the old unions must go hand in hand with the organization of the unorganized. There can be no question of abandoning the work in the old unions and neither Comrade Losovsky nor any leading or influential member of the Party has proposed that. No doubt such a sentiment could develop in the rank and file of the left wing, with its tradition in this respect, if it were given any encouragement. Such encouragement must not be given and all signs of such tendecies must be combatted, for the three million workers organized in the existing unions are not to be surrendered to the bureaucrats. These workers, with our help, will carry on battles in spite of their traitorous leaders.

THE QUESTION OF EMPHASIS

The real question here is one of emphasis. The articles of Comrade Losovsky, the resolution of the Red International and the resolution of the CEC all put the emphasis in the present situation where it belongs: on the organization of the unorganized into new unions. To place the emphasis at the moment on the other side, to raise a scare about abandoning the work in the old unions where none exists, or to deny that the Party has been remiss on the question of organizing the unorganized, might easily, in their objective consequences, become a cover for again distorting the main line and putting the center of gravity in the wrong place.

The obstacles in the path of organizing the workers in the basic industries of America are truly enormous, and the present forces at our disposal are small. There is no need to minimize the difficulties, they will multiply and confront us at every turn. The state power of capitalism will obstruct the new union movement with the fiercest persecution; and the workers will soon find that they are not done with the treacheries of the labor fakers when they seek to form new unions.

Between the decision to organize the unorganized masses and the actual formation and consolidation of new unions lies a long and stony road. But history has laid out that task for the Communist Party and the left wing, and we must begin the work in earnest.

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Resolution on the Report of the Political Committee

(Adopted by the May, 1928 Plenum of the C E C of the Workers Party)

THE Central Executive Committee reaffirms the main line of the February plenum thesis and declares that the economic depression continues to be acute. The slight improvement in steel, automobile and building construction in the first quarter of the year was not reflected in the economic situation as a whole. Already there are evidences of a renewed decline in steel and automobiles.

Though the depression gives every evidence of continuing for some time and though there are many indications of the tendency to deepen the present depression and develop an industrial crisis, there are insufficient facts at hand to indicate today that we are facing a crisis of the dimensions of the 1921 crisis.

The present depression shows a marked tendency to speed-up capitalist rationalization and trustification. A specific feature of the present economic situation is not only the mergers of individual corporations into trusts but of the largest trusts into gigantic super-trusts. Another special feature is the growing extension of rationalization and trustification especially in the field of distribution.

The extent of unemployment has not changed materially since the February plenum. The present huge volume of unemployment is caused not only by the present depression but by rationalization and trustification by a special growth of the constant industrial reserve army. There is a marked tendency to transform large sections of the masses of unemployed into permanently "dis-employed."

The present political situation is characterized by:

1. The absence of any sharp fundamental issues between the capitalist political parties.

2. There is less division within the capitalist political parties today than ever before the 1924 elections, though the discontent of the farmers expresses itself in aggravated form, as shown by differentiation within the Republican Party.

3. Unlike 1924, there is today no national mass movement for a third party.

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4. There is no organized Labor Party movement on a national scale at present.

5. The bulk of the working class still adheres to both capitalist parties. The organized labor movement under the leadership of the labor aristocracy has (compared with 1924) moved to the right, as manifested by the endorsement of Hoover by 12 Railroad Brotherhoods, which were the backbone of the Conference for Progressive Political Action in 1923, and by the probable endorsement of Al Smith by the American Federation of Labor which endorsed LaFollete's third party movement in 1924.

The present depression has not yet been long and severe enough to upset the political effects of the prolonged prosperity of the period between 1922 and 1927.

Recent events proved the correctness of the analysis of the February plenum about the growing aggressiveness of American imperialism. The acute depression is itself a force for intensifying the aggressive role of American imperialism as shown by the sharpening struggle for previously British spheres of influence by American imperialism; intensified steps toward complete domination of Nicaragua and other American colonies and semi-colonies; the sharp reaffirmation of the policy of vigorous hostility towards the Soviet Union; the open co-operation of the United States with Japan in Shantung and Manchuria against China which at the same time contains already the germs of future conflicts with Japan for the domination of the Pacific; the so-called peace offensive of Kellogg which in fact is a challenge against the League of Nations dominated by the European powers.

II. RADICALIZATION AND LIMITATIONS OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

The offensive of the bosses, wage cuts, open-shop drive, government by injunction, further extension of company unionism have served as forces for intensifying the resistance of the working class. The big struggle in the mining, textile, and needle industries are defensive struggles of important sections of the American working class against the capitalist offensive and serve in an increasing degree as the basis for the mass work of the Communist Party. The analysis put forward by certain comrades about the general radicalization and left trend of the working class as a whole on a nation-wide scale in the same sense and extent as the radicalization

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of the working class in Europe, is wrong and is not borne out by the facts. The Central Committee therefore endorses the action of the Political Committee in rejecting the proposal of calling political protest strikes as a part of our daily agitation.

At the same time, developments since the February plenum have justified the forecast of an increasing mood for struggle amongst larger sections of the workers. This is especially manifested among the masses of unskilled and semi-skilled who are suffering the most from unemployment, wage cuts and the speed-up system. The Central Committee warns against any analysis which is to be based solely on the conditions and moods of the masses within the organized labor movement. The Central Committee emphatically points out that in order to have a correct policy we must base our analysis first of all on the conditions and moods of the great mass of unorganized unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

An analysis shows that there is a basic difference between European and American conditions at present and it would be a major mistake to apply thoughtlessly, in a mechanical way, the policies of big mass Communist Parties of Europe to basically different American conditions. The following fundamental differences between the present European and American situations must be pointed out:

1. American capitalism is still on the upgrade as compared with Europe, especially with British capitalism.

2. American imperialism is still increasing its power on almost every front of world politics—a striking contrast to the status of British imperialism.

3. The American working class as a whole is in a privileged position compared with the European working class. America has the largest stratum of labor aristocracy. In no other country is there such a gap between the upper stratum of the working class and the true proletarian masses.

4. The American working class does not yet have any mass political party of its own which is able to rally millions of workers. Its great majority still adheres to the capitalist parties.

At the same time the Central Committee emphatically states that it would be a major mistake not to see the limitations of American capitalism, not to see these factors which are bound to create great complications for American imperialism and it points out the following most important factors working to this end:

1. The aggressive imperialist policies of the United States are creating many complications in world politics. It is inevitable that

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these complications will reflect themselves in the internal situation of the country as well. The very fact that American imperialism is, with growing success, pushing back British imperialism on every front calls for an increasing rivalry, for increasing naval and military competition between British and American imperialists. The very fact of increasing domination of American imperialism over the Latin American countries calls for a growing resistance on the part of Latin America against United States imperialism. The increasingly aggressive participation of the United States in world politics makes necessary the building up of an extensive navy, army and merchant fleet. Increasing taxation and growing oppression make for a tendency of large strata of workers, working farmers and petty bourgeois elements to resist imperialist aggressiveness.

2. The first violent stage of the agricultural crisis has been liquidated by the ruining of hundreds of thousands of farmers and the driving of the farm population by the millions into the cities. But the agricultural crisis is not over. The basic reason for the agricultural crisis is the existence of the monopolistic trusts on the one hand—and trustification is going on with an unheard of speed—and the unorganized atomized status of the technically backward farmers on the other. The very technical and organization progress of industries calls for partial crises (mining, textile, shoe, needle trades) which stir up broad strata of workers. The industrialization of the South which tends to create a powerful new industrial center in the United States brings unemployment, wage cuts and general insecurity of life for hundreds of thousands of workers in New England. The crisis in the mining industry serves as the basis of a general fomentation among the 800,000 coal miners, bringing about such a radicalization of the workers in the coal mines that it may become the starting point of a general radicalization process of the workers in the other basic industries.

3. The present economic depression has already created mass unemployment on a large scale. The unemployed workers are living today on their savings but these savings cannot last for a long time. Prolonged unemployment will mean greater suffering to the bulk of the workers here than other countries due to the lack of any kind of social insurance. The households of millions of workers are to a large extent based on installment buying and an industrial crisis and a prolonged period of unemployment would mean not

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only the stopping of wages but the shaking of the very foundation of the working-class households. Though the wages of the workers in America are higher than in the other countries it is not necessary for the American wage level to be reduced to the European level to develop mass movements of resistance to or offensive against wage cuts and capitalist rule.

4. The centralization and bureaucratization of the United States government is making constant headway. The government apparatus is in a growing degree being merged with the apparatus of big business. The strike-breaking role of the government is one of the most powerful factors to radicalize the American workers. Manifold tendencies of a special type of state capitalism manifest themselves in America to an increasing extent and will turn the struggles of the working class more than ever before directly against the State.

5. American capitalism is still on its upward grade but it is becoming more and more part and parcel of world capitalism which on the whole has entered into the last declining stage of its development. American imperialism itself already manifests certain signs of decay such as export of capital, undermining of the home market and rapid increase of the rentier class. American imperialism will not be able to bribe broad sections of the working class for many more years. It is not the sole workshop of the world as Great Britain was for decades. There are other mighty imperialist powers limiting the expansion of American imperialism, competing with it on every front. The menace of a new imperialist war is looming up ever bigger on the horizon. The very existence of the Socialist Republic of the Soviet Union is another limitation to the growth of American imperialism. The forces of the proletarian revolution are gathering in other countries. The struggle for the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the colonial countries constitutes another limiting force to the upward development of American imperialism.

III. BASIC TASKS

The above analysis determines clearly the present position and basic tasks of our party at present. We must clearly face the fact that we are not yet a mass Party in the sense of the Communist Parties of Germany or of France. The basic task of the Communist Parties of Germany and France is to fight for the conquest of the majority of the working class. The Communist Party of America has not yet reached this stage of its development. Our present task *still* is more moderate, more limited. Our basic task today is to entrench ourselves in the masses, to get a foothold

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especially in all those sections of the masses which are stirred up by the present depression and by these serious crises which manifest themselves in certain portions of the economic life of this country. The workers in the mining fields, in the textile mills, in the needle trades are engaged in a desperate defensive struggle. It is the basic task of the Communist Party of America to participate in these struggles, to be the organizing and driving force in the struggle of those sections of the workers.

Though our Party is no longer in the stage of being a mere propaganda society it is necessary for us to conduct an intensified propaganda for our principles and final aims in our everyday work.

In view of the crisis in the labor movement and the growing power of the trusts, the main emphasis of our whole Party work must be laid on the organization of the unorganized. It is the historic task of the Communist Party to assume aggressively the initiative and leadership to organize the vast millions of unorganized workers. But that does not mean that we should abandon to the bureaucracy the three million organized workers. A powerful left wing must be formed and must serve as an auxiliary instrument in carrying out the task of organizing the unorganized.

The entire party must realize the growing significance of the TUEL as the unifier of our activities to organize the unorganized and crystallize the left wing in the existing trade unions.

IV. OUR NEGRO WORK

The Central Executive Committee calls attention to the growing importance of our work among the Negroes. The industrialization of the south, the concentration of a huge Negro population in the big cities, the entering of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale has created a Negro industrial proletariat. The organization of the Negro workers who are overwhelmingly unorganized and who constitute a large section of the unorganized masses, is one of our major tasks in connection with the general problem of the organization of the unorganized workers.

The organization of the Negroes into trade unions must be recognized by the Party as one of its foremost tasks. The CEC endorses the policies of the Political Committee on Negro work pointing out that:

a. The Negro question is a race question and the Communist Party must be the champion of the oppressed Negro race.

b. The Communist Party must especially be the organizer of the working-class elements of the Negro race.

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c. The Communist Party must fight for the leadership of the working class in all Negro race movements.

d. The work among the Negroes is not only a special task of the Negro comrades but it is the task of the entire Party.

The Central Committee further instructs the Political Committee to take the necessary steps to strengthen the Negro Department of the Party.

V. THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Central Executive Committee endorses the policies of the Political Committee towards the Socialist Party. The Political Committee was right in correcting the mistakes in the attitude of certain districts towards the Socialist Party (Milwaukee elections and Bearak). The CEC approves the action of the Polcom in rejecting the proposal to address a united front offer to the Socialist Party city officials of Reading, Pa., especially after these officials had declared that they would conduct themselves as capitalist city officials, instead of directing this open letter and offering a united front to the workers of Reading for a fight against these SP city officials. The CEC accepts the criticism embodied in the letter of the Communist International on the policies of our Party regarding the Socialist Party, as they are expressed in the wrong attitude in the Bereak and Panken cases and in the open letter on the Labor Party question directed to the National Committee of the S. P.

The Central Executive Committee endorses the line in the decision of the Political Committee of April 9th, 1928, i.e.:

1. No united front with the Socialist Party leaders but a united front with the working-class elements still following the Socialist Party against the leadership of the Socialist Party.

2. No voting for Socialist Party candidates as a general rule.

3. Intensification of our struggle against the Socialist Party and its ideology in the labor movement on the whole line.

VI. LABOR PARTY AND ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The Central Committee endorses the various decisions of the Political Committee on the Labor Party question. The CEC states that our policy must be guided by the following views at present:

1. The character of the Labor Party slogan today is more a slogan of propaganda than a slogan of action.

2. Today the Labor Party can be organized only through fight against the trade-union and Socialist Party bureaucracy.

3. The whole problem of the Labor Party is tied up with the question of organizing the unorganized and is integrally bound up with the extent of success in organizing new unions.

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4. It is necessary to emphasize that a Labor Party should be based not only on the trade unions but on the factory, mill, shop and mine committees of the unorganized workers.

5. The limitations of the Labor Party and the role of the C. P.

6. No individual membership for the Labor Party and the rejection of any policy to form Labor Party clubs based on individual members.

The Central Committee endorses the policies and actions of the Political Committee in the election campaign and reaffirms as our aims in the election campaign the following:

1. To place our Party as a political party before the whole working class.

2. The election campaign must serve as a unifying force of all present economic struggles of the workers and must be utilized to develop and increase the class consciousness of the working class.

3. The election campaign must be based on all concrete struggles of the working class and must be a summing up of all present campaigns of our Party.

4. The putting up of a straight Communist ticket does not mean the dropping of the Labor Party slogan. Quite the contrary, our election campaign must be utilized to the fullest extent to agitate for a Labor Party.

5. The election campaign must serve as a means of destroying democratic, parliamentary and pacifist illusions of the working class.

6. The key-note of the election campaign must be: Class Struggle vs. Class Collaboration.

7. In the election campaign our Party must appear as the champion of the working class, of the working farmers and oppressed Negro race and as the organizer of the struggle for the liberation of the colonies against American imperialism.

8. The election campaign is for us a means of mobilizing the masses and presenting our Communist principles and final goal before greater sections of the working class.

In this sense the Central Executive Committee takes note that the National Nominating Convention of the Party marks a great forward step for the Party and indicates the growing capacities of the Party to participate effectively in the struggles of the workers. The National Nominating Convention lays the basis for effective participation of the Party in the coming election campaign. The CEC calls upon the Party membership to utilize the Nominating Convention to put the Party on the ballot and to rally the working class around the election campaign of the Party.

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Some Immediate Party Problems

By JAY LOVESTONE

(*Excerpt of remarks to the meeting of the Central Committee on May* 30, 1928.)

I. THE IMMEDIATE ECONOMIC SITUATION

The Present Depression and Outlook

What is the question before us? It is not a question of whether the outlook at hand is for a future economic crisis. The economic crisis in large measure is here already. The question at issue before us is: What kind of a crisis do we have today? Here we have a fundamental difference of opinion. Is it the final crisis of American capitalism? I even raise the question of whether the present crisis is of as deep-going a character as was the 1921 crisis. I say that it is not such a crisis today. Some might accuse me of hesitation, but I rely on facts. Facts speak louder than unfounded and therefore useless evidence. Is there sufficient proof that we are immediately on the road to a crisis, as severe or more severe than the one in 1921? If there is such evidence, it has not yet been produced.

What are the facts? I say there is an economic crisis. I even indicated three of its new, specific features: the crisis in the very heart of the American capitalist edifice—the crisis of mass production. Then a crisis in the credit situation, and, third, the crisis of unemployment. The question before us is, what kind of a crisis do we have today? A comrade posed the central question as: "Do we expect a recurrence of the 1927 unprecedented prosperity?" That is the key question. Some comrades say categorically "no!" If I have misrepresented them, let them say so now. I say, if any comrades reply categorically "no" to this question, then they maintain that we have already the basic crisis of capitalism in the United States. One cannot say so definitely "no," and don't charge me with overhesitation and underestimation when I say that American capitalism may have an economic situation of at least as much prosperity or even a bigger prosperity than that of 1926-1927. If anyone calls embracing of such fallacious conclusions "going to the left," then he is going to the left on his head, and with his eyes shut. Let us be on solid ground, comrades. We have to

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stand on our feet and not on our heads. Our eyes must be wide open. Let us face the facts and realities of the economic situation.

I maintain that there are fundamental elements indicating forces of decay in American capitalism, but the presence of these fundamental forces does not indicate the beginning of a general decline of American imperialism. It is my contention that, though these comrades deny that they say American imperialism is already on the decline, the so-called facts which they give us would compel us to adopt a policy based on their only possible justifiable conclusion, i.e., that American imperialism is already on the decline.

It is a fact that the export of capital, that the growing limitation of the domestic market and the rapid rise of the rentier class are indications of basic forces making for the decline and the disintegration of American imperialism. For the first time in the history of our Party, this was pointed out, in the February thesis. The February thesis is not private vest-pocket property. It is the product and the property of the Party.

What is the economic situation in Great Britain and in Italy? In these countries, capitalism is definitely on the decline. Why? There the whole industrial economy, the whole process of production, industry by industry, tends towards disintegration. These comrades contend that in America, the crisis in the textile, coal, and oil industries is evidence of the beginning of the decline of American capitalism. We say that the crisis in the coal, oil and textile fields in the United States is not a crisis indicating the beginning of the decline of American imperialism, but that these are temporary crises, which will be met by a further extension of rationalization, and thus may indicate even greater growth of American imperialism. This is the fundamental difference between the crisis in the various industries in the United States and of most of the industries in Great Britain and Italy. When we learn to understand this difference, then we shall learn that through such faulty analysis one is bound to develop a whole line which is wrong.

Comrade Dunne, speaking before the Presidium of the Communist International, stated much more clearly what other Comrades have stated somewhat vaguely and confusedly. Comrade Dunne charges the Central Committee of our Party with having underestimated the rapidity of the development of the class-struggle in the United States and having underestimated the tempo of decline in national economy. Let me quote:

"Furthermore, our Party—and in this all of us are involved, but of course most of the responsibility rests on the majority of the Central Committee has underestimated the rapidity of the

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development of the class-struggle in America, underestimated the tempo both of the decline of American national economy and the will and desire of the masses to struggle."

This is a network of illusions. There is no basic decline in the American national economy. We have an economic depression—and a severe economic depression. But American national economy, as such, is not declining fundamentally. Quite the contrary. It is on the ascent. Here is the source of the tremendous obstacles and difficulties still in our path. And if one denies these obstacles, then, in the language of some comrades, he will be "dancing quadrilles" of overhesitation and underestimation.

II. SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS

1. *Is There a General Radicalization of the Working Class Today?*

The total volume of radicalization in the United States is today greater than at any time since the collapse of the LaFollette movement. Charge me with being pessimistic if you please. Labels do not determine contents. Because the total volume of radicalization in the United States is greater today than at any time since the collapse of the LaFollette movement, it does not mean that there is radicalization among the railroad workers, among the unskilled workers in the steel industry, and in the ranks of the unskilled and semi-skilled in other industries.

Let us examine the situation to find a correct answer to the question of "general radicalization." Those Comrades are partly correct who say we should not only compare the objective conditions in the United States with the objective conditions in other countries in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the trend of radicalization in the United States. It is true that this is not the only thing to do, but when one judges radicalization and when one judges Communist tactics, we must also judge them in comparison with objective conditions in the other countries.

It is certainly correct that one must judge relatively the trend of radicalization on the basis of examining various periods in this country. I will take up this yard-stick for measuring and we will see how wrong some comrades are in their conclusion that there is a general radicalization in this country.

Compare the present situation with the period of September, 1924 to May, 1927. The present period shows an increasing tendency towards more wide-spread radicalization. Does that mean that radicalization is general? It means nothing of the kind. Does that mean, as Comrade Dunne said, that the whole working class

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is moving to the left? It means nothing of the kind. If the whole working class were being radicalized, we would have some organized mass political expression of the working class. Please find this. You cannot produce it except in your own heads, and the working class is not in the heads of some of our comrades.

It is true that radicalization is more wide-spread than last year. The question is: How widespread is it? Is it widespread enough for a labor party movement? I say it is less widespread than in 1922-23. Our working class is today still less homogeneous than it was in 1922-23. Say that I am moving backwards. Unfortunately, these objectionable facts are true. When one closes his eyes to them, he is not moving forward, but he is blindly moving himself backward. Give us the facts of the general radicalization. Is it widespread enough to make the workers flock in large numbers to our Party? It is true that in the localities where there is radicalization the masses turn to our Party. We have this in the mining industry. The response to our Party in the textile industry is growing. Our numbers in the needle trades are rising. But for a different story, ask the comrades in the steel industry. Ask these unskilled workers, because I do not want anybody to come up here and say that I am basing myself on the labor aristocracy and solely on the members of the trade unions. The unorganized masses, insofar as response to our Party goes, respond only in those industries which are at present in a critical condition, and where radicalization has therefore set in.

Is radicalization widespread enough to manifest itself in a huge strike wave? It is not. In 1922, we had such a strike wave. Then we had also a political expression of radicalization. We want the comrades, before they tell us that there is a general radicalization, to give us some facts. Let me make one point very clear here. It is not a more left position to say that there are more workers moving to the left when there is no such movement noticeable except in your imaginations. The mere fact that you are saying that the workers are moving on a general widespread scale to the left does not by itself make you more left than the comrades who estimate the situation more calmly and correctly. The correct Communist position is that we should adapt our tactics to the objective situation without disregarding the difficulties.

It seems to me, however, that to some comrades it is becoming a crime to define and make clear the difficulties we find. The Communist International, in its last decision, stated that the American party faces tremendous objective difficulties. Was the Com-

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munist International pessimistic? I join the Comintern in such "pessimism," which is only Bolshevik realism. In the last C I estimate we find statements regarding gigantic difficulties. How do you dovetail this with the theory of general national radicalization as found by some comrades here who never mentioned the difficulties confronting our Party? That these comrades hold there is general radicalization of the working class in the United States today, is proven by their proposed political strikes for our daily agitation. These comrades are theoreticians. That means they immediately produce a theory for every one of their policies, right or wrong. This policy if adopted by our Party, would bring to the working class no *radicalization*. On the contrary, it would bring to the Party *radical* isolation. This policy we repudiate. This we cannot accept. Let me also emphasize a question touched on by Comrade Pepper in one of his contributions to the *Communist*. It is a very important question which we must not hesitate and must not be too cautious in acknowledging and understanding. It is the question of the relative proportion of strength between the Communist Party and the workers in this country and in other countries. Germany, with a smaller working class than that of the United States, Great Britain, with a smaller working class, Czechoslovakia with a comparatively insignificant working class—compare the Communist parties over there with ours. They are mass parties in a smaller working class. And when one is critical or boastful, he should keep this point in mind, because the Communist International always keeps this in mind in dealing with our Party.

2. *Overhesitation and Underestimation*

One word about overhesitation and underestimation. I think some comrades in our Party are developing a dance mania. Stop this quadrille and stop this hesitation. We are not dancing. We reject improper political dancing. We have a constant correct line, comrades. Some comrades continually ask which is the greater danger in our Party, overhesitation or underestimation. We say both are foreign to correct policy and we fight both resolutely. I demand that the comrades should show, and since they have not shown in the debate, that they be given a special privilege to change their speeches in order to produce the facts to indicate on which important question our Party has hesitated since the last convention.

I will examine the main criticism in a moment. I want to find facts indicating our failure to see the new economic situation. And

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these cannot be produced. I say that our February thesis on the economic situation was in the main a contribution which our Party can be proud of. It was not the work of a "fast group" a "slow group" or a "hesitation group." Even the self-styled fastest dancing comrades will grant that I know something about the how and why of the February thesis. And the C I endorses our thesis.

Again I deny emphatically that our Central Committee does not see very clearly and quickly, changes in the objective conditions. We lost no time in seeing the changing conditions of the working class. I deny that our Party did not view correctly so outstanding a change in the American labor movement as is evidenced in the fact that appreciably no trade unions were being organized in a period of prosperity. This is a trend totally distinct from that of the past. But even if we had not seen such changes, the duty of these comrades is not to make it an issue, but to bring it into the Political Committee. It so happens that on these questions, the comrades who complained most against our myopic political vision, saw nothing.

3. *Bourgeoisification as the Father of General Radicalization*

A few words about bourgeoisification.

Capital is being made here of the point made by Comrade Pepper in one of his articles, that it is not necessary for the level of the American workers' standard of living to sink as low as the standard of living in the European countries, for radicalization to set in. It is on a total misunderstanding of this correct statement of Comrade Pepper's that the fathers of the general material bourgeoisification of the day-before-yesterday now ask us to baptize this radicalization baby. No, it can't and won't be done by the Central Committee. The statement put forward by Comrade Pepper was that it is not true that we, in this country, cannot have a mass revolutionary movement until the conditions in the United States sink to the level of Bulgaria, Italy, France, or some of the other capitalist countries. Precisely because the American workers have been used to a higher standard of living, therefore it does not have to go down to so low a level as, for instance, in the Balkans. But comrades, does that mean that it has already gone down sufficiently on the American basis, on the relative position, to give us general radicalization in the United States? No, comrades. Statistical facts, that is what we want. Prove it. We talk a lot about wage cuts. Statistics show that wage cuts are on the increase, but

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that the volume of wage cuts has not yet been sufficient to produce a serious upward trend in the number of strikes or a national mass resistance of the working class as a whole to capitalist aggression.

So this mangled baby of radicalization cannot be given to us legitimately as the offspring of the general material bourgeoisification father, despite the nine months that elapsed between the conception of the two.

One comrade raises this question: Is the Party swinging to the right or is it not true that it is swinging to the left, because today we place the greatest emphasis on organization of the unorganized? This is too mechanical an approach. The emphasis which we place on a slogan at any time depends upon the objective conditions. It is not an accident that our Party places a far greater emphasis upon organizing the unorganized than we did in 1922. What was the situation in 1922? In 1922, we correctly emphasized the question of amalgamation. There was then a deep stir in the unions, which still had large numbers of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who came into the trade union movement in the war period. We correctly put considerable emphasis at that time on the fight in the existing trade unions. Today our emphasis is, first and above all, on organizing the unorganized, because of new objective factors which we will examine soon. That does not mean that in 1922 we had a right-wing policy and today our policy is for this reason more to the left. In 1922, we were correct in emphasizing one angle. In 1928, we are equally correct in emphasizing another approach.

4. *The Chinese Question*

A few words about China. China manifests another question in which fallacies arise as a result of formulating basic policies on temporary and superficial phenomena. What is the source of danger for an opportunistic line on this question? It is the following: Of course Japan is an imperialist aggressor. If we lay first emphasis at this time on potential conflict between that and American imperialism as the outstanding factor of the immediate situation, we would be guilty of the worst kind of opportunism. It is where the emphasis is put that counts, because the emphasis shows the line. What is the correct position on the Chinese question? It is the fol-

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lowing: Japanese imperialism is aggressive, and comes into conflict with the imperialist policies of the United States. But in the face of great danger of a revolutionary China rising at the present, it puts aside its conflicts with Japan for the moment. I say "puts aside" and I can cite official acts of the American State Department to show you that the United States is today the vigorous ally of Japan. This does not mean that Wall Street imperialism is the tail of Nipponese imperialism. When one robber helps another in a hold-up, it does not make a tail out of him.

It is necessary that we should understand clearly that these Japanese-American imperialist conflicts are developing and are bound to sharpen, but particularly because of the strong, persistent anti-Japanese propaganda of American imperialism and the propaganda of Wall Street that the United States is a friend of China—because of these two capitalist maneuvers among the workers, because of these tactics to develop among the workers an anti-Japanese feeling and a ridiculous notion that America is the only friend of China, it is especially necessary to expose the fraud of American imperialist propaganda by making clear the concrete, immediate aggressive role of American imperialism jointly with Japan against China. I refer you to the official statement issued by Kellogg with a declaration that the reports to the effect that the United States criticized Japan for its Manchuria and Shantung policy are incorrect. This is an official declaration issued last Friday by the State Department. I can cite you a number of others. There are available statements of the bourgeois press which indicate the same policy.

Does this mean nothing to you? American imperialism is today temporarily giving Japan, to a certain extent, a free hand because of the greater danger of revolutionary China, because of certain concessions and deals which we know nothing about. Do we deny the sources of conflict between Japanese and American imperialism? Do we deny the struggle in the Pacific? Nonsense. Don't let's waste our breath on that. What we do deny is that our business there can be to hide the role of American imperialism in this connection as an active co-operation with Japan in crushing China. The basic line of the policy of the Party must be founded not on differences among the imperialist powers, but on the basis of the concrete imperialist role of the so-called home government, of the United States government, under whose domination we live. This

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is a fundamental point, the essence of Leninism. If one departs from this, he departs from one of our fundamental tenets that can and will lead only to the detriment of the Policy as a whole. We always place in the foreground the fact that it is the duty of the working class in a particular country in the struggle against imperialism, to fight first and foremost against the imperialism under whose domination it lives.

5. *The Labor Party*

One comrade has worked overtime to make a contribution to the Labor Party policy of the Party. I think he did, but we should reject his contribution. When we use terms, we must first understand them clearly. This comrade really raised the whole question of the Labor Party in a very clear and categorical way. He asks: Is it our duty to work for a Labor Party today? We say "yes." This is our answer unhesitatingly. But why does not the comrade answer this question himself? What is his theory? The trade unions today are the least favorable base for a Labor Party, he emphasizes. But he forgets the CEC resolution which he proposed and the policy of the CEC takes that into consideration. He says that the unskilled masses are not in the trade unions. They are unorganized. He then winds himself into more questions without answering them. He raises the question: Shall we accept individual membership as the basis for the Labor Party? Or shall we organize on the basis of clubs as proposed by another comrade? I think the Labor Party line laid down by the CEC is correct. The answers to these questions given in the resolution we proposed are correct. The policy of the Political Committee has been correct.

6. *The Pennsylvania Labor Party Tactics*

The Political Committee correctly decided that it is necessary for us to raise the question and fight for the endorsement of Workers Party candidates in all labor organizations. The question at issue in this case was the *time*. The question is one of occasion in view of several other factors characterizing the immediate objective circumstances. The question here was one of tactics. Here is where I admit a major tactical error was made by the Central Committee's representative in the Pennsylvania Labor Party convention deliberations, and decisions relative to the immediate endorsement of our national candidates even before they

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had been nominated by our Party. The proof of it is that we had armed the fakers to strike us under conditions in which they should not have been able to come near us.

III. THE TRADE UNION QUESTION

What is the key to our present trade-union question? The key is not to be found in a discussion of dual unionism, its merits or its demerits. We must repudiate the loose use of the term dual unionism as tending to confuse rather than clarify the situation. The term "new union", "organization of the unorganized," is much more fit. In discussing this question, you must keep in mind the following new objective facts characterizing the present situation. These are:

1. The tendency to wipe out the skill lines.

2. The A. F. of L. bureaucracy continues to refuse and actually hinders and sabotages all efforts to organize the unorganized.

3. Therefore, the A. F. of L. is becoming more and more an organization of the skilled workers, or the labor aristocracy.

4. The collapse of the United Mine Workers of America.

These four points are the primary forces making for a decisive marked shifting in our center of gravity in the trade-union work. It is therefore to be noted only that our center of gravity and emphasis is shifting through the concentration of our energy and efforts on the organization of the unorganized.

What about our work in the trade unions? I think some comrades would formulate their attitude towards work in the trade unions a little more carefully if they were to write it. Our work in the existing trade unions does not take a backward step. We do not in the least drop the slogan of our party "Into the Trade Unions." The work in the existing trade unions, because of the great stress we are now laying on the organization of the unorganized, assumes even greater importance than it had before. Why? Because in order to be as efficient, as effective, as successful as possible in our organization of the unorganized, we must utilize to the fullest extent and degree whatever resources we have in the existing trade unions. In this light I think that the article in the *British Worker* of April 13 was a slander against our Party, was a villification of our Party and should be repudiated. It places

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the question before us as one of either here in the existing trade unions or there in the dual unions. The question is not either here or there. The question is both, and which comes first, which is the most emphatic. The Central Committee has answered firmly that today, because of the objective situation, the emphasis on the organization of the unorganized comes first.

I do not agree with certain sections of the Trade Union resolution. I agree only with the general line of the document. I think the formulation of the criticism of the Party in reference to its role in the building of the TUEL is not correctly formulated. I think it is wrong to state that the party is neglecting the railroad industry. It would be better to emphasize the difficulties of the Party in the railroad industry and show our weaknesses there. On several other points, the resolution should be corrected and improved.

In his article, Comrade Pepper was not correct in my opinion, when he said that Comrade Losovsky's resolution of the Profintern on the American question was ninety-nine percent correct and one percent wrong. What is the criticism we have made? We are all agreed on the primary criticism. It is a lack of analysis of the present situation in the labor movement that we complain of most. Such a little thing in a Communist resolution! Comrade Pepper cannot be classified as an expert on percentages in Profintern resolutions when he says that the complete absence of an economic analysis is only one percent.

There are two kinds of errors—errors of commission and errors of omission. Sometimes omission is more dangerous because it becomes a source of a whole family or a whole series of errors of commission. Comrade Losovsky is wrong when he gives us a line for the American Party without giving us an analysis of the American labor movement. I say our delegation should be criticized for ever accepting the resolution without analysis of the objective situation. It is precisely because of this lack that Comrade Losovsky has a "quadrille" orientation.

Certain criticism that has been made deserves special characterization. When we read some of the off-shoots of Comrade Losovsky's criticism as written by Comrade Villenkin, we say that it is not a quadrille orientation, it is a St. Vitus dance.

A second error: This is the inadequate recognition of the achievements and the results secured by the American Party in the organization of the unorganized. No party in the C I, having our inadequate resources and insufficient forces, has made as much effort as we have and gotten as good results in organizing the unorganized.

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Take the campaign in the mining industry. Compare this work with the activities of much bigger Communist parties in their miners union. We can certainly be very proud of our mining campaign. What mystifies me is that all of a sudden the Colorado situation becomes a major error of the Party in the minds of some comrades. "We should have been more active" "We should have responded more quickly." This will hold true for any situation. But, comrades, why not drop the practice of always forgetting to take into account or even to mention casually, such little considerations as the inadequate Party resources? Why forget to mention the I. W. W. treachery and why forget to mention the fact that the Political Committee rejected the wrong line of some Comrades on Colorado and rejected it unanimously? These little omissions should not give you the costly privilege of committing the serious error of forgetting to tell us about the substantial results we achieved in Colorado for the Party.

A Comrade raises the question why there were no unions organized in West Virginia in 1926 and 1927. There are several reasons for it. We have had committees but no local unions. Let no one deny that it is a fatal error that the Party has not done more to stimulate the organization of local unions with membership cards on a regular basis. The Polbureau has made a decision to this effect quite a number of weeks ago.

Let us look into the matter chronologically. In 1926 and 1927 the situation in the United Mine Workers was a little different from what it is today. Before the fourteen-months strike, our Party and the left wing were so "strong" that at the Indianapolis convention in 1927 we could muster about twenty left-wing delegates into our caucus and we had to enter the convention from the roof down and the cellar up. So the situation in the UMW of A was a little different then. Was our policy wrong at that time? But the proof of such accusations is not to be found in the fact that no regular new unions were organized. The proof of the accusation to the extent of its very limited truth is to be found in other mistakes made by the Party. One of these mistakes, however, is not the alleged mistake mentioned. This comrade also states that the Central Committee was opposed to calling a national left-wing conference in the miners union in early 1927. This is correct. We were opposed to calling one in May, 1927. To attempt to call the conference at that time without added preparations would have been, not a left position, but an insane one. The CEC adopted a correct policy in endorsing the idea that the holding of a left-wing conference and declaring for immediate agitation in the organization

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was part of the preparations for holding such a conference successfully. To have issued a call without proper preparations would have been incorrect. We stand for our old position on the basis of the above facts.

Is there any value in Comrade Losovsky's line? Of course there is some, but I am convinced that there is plenty of harm in it. It puts us in danger of our weaker and more confused comrades leaving the trade unions.

We are of the opinion that we must not reject the idea of working in the unions. Its continuation does not conflict with the work in new unions. Quite the contrary, it serves to supplement and help it.

I do not think there is any danger of our Party over-emphasizing the importance of working in the trade unions. At least not for some time to come. We must be on guard against the emphasis on organizing the unorganized becoming a force for inspiring our comrades with a desire to leave the existing unions. As it is we have too small a proportion of our Party membership within the existing trade unions. To us, there is absolutely no contradiction involved in staying in the old unions and organizing the unorganized. In fact, they are inseparable. For example, if we examine the role of our party in the needle trades, the miners, the textile workers, we will see the importance of previous trade-union training and experience.

The Save-the-Union slogan has been somewhat clarified in the recent discussions. The general line laid down for it in the resolution proposed by Comrade Foster is a correct one. It is altogether different from the attempt made to use the Save-the-Union slogan mechanically and as a slogan for the entire labor movement. This the CEC rejected even before the February Plenum, in consideration of resolutions on the trade-union question. We use the Save-the-Union slogan only when we can mobilize masses for a struggle against the forces of reaction and in no other case.

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William D. Haywood—

"Undesirable Citizen"

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL

THE place to be assigned to William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood (1869-1928) in the history of the American proletarian struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, can best be judged by an analysis of the enemies he made during his life of revolutionary activity. These may be placed in four categories:

First: It was the mine owners of the Rocky Mountain states in the far west (of gold, silver and copper), who placed him on trial for his life, as Secretary-Treasurer of the Western Federation of Miners, in 1907. He escaped this fate, but he was in turn jailed by the woolen trust, at Lawrence, Mass., the great silk mill owners of Paterson, New Jersey, and by the powerful capitalists who dominate the ever-growing industrial districts in America.

Second: It was none other than Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States (1901-8), who denounced Haywood together with his fellow officials of the Miners' Union, Charles H. Moyer and George A. Pettibone, as "undesirable citizens" during the Boise, Idaho, trial, when the whole American ruling class was crying for the blood of these militant working-class leaders. This was at the zenith of Roosevelt's popularity as a "trust buster," the idol of the outraged middle class in the period when great monopolies, crushing out smaller enterprises, were springing into existence everywhere in industry. Roosevelt was the liberal in politics, who was charged with "stealing" half the Socialist Party platform in 1912 to build his own in the fight for re-election in that year.

Third: It was not only the powerful capitalists and the middle-class politicians who found Haywood "undesirable." Just as venomous in its hatred was the official family of the American Federation of Labor, especially during the regime headed by Sam Gompers. In The *Voice of Labor*, June, 1905, Haywood declared that "the ideas of Mr. Gompers are hoary, aged, moss-covered relics of the

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days of the ox team and the pony express, when the craftsman owned or controlled the tools of production." Gompers attacked Haywood and the Industrial Workers of the World, organized in 1905, as having "an appeal to the reckless, the unprincipled, the uneducated, the unstable," adding that "the I. W. W. was frankly revolutionary and had an appeal to a limited number of wage earners." Here was the continuous clash between the spirited effort to organize the masses of workers on broad industrial lines on the one hand and the contentment of the labor aristocracy on the other with its weaknesses and shortcomings growing out of the numerous craft divisions and refusal to organize the unskilled, the semi-skilled and the migratory workers.

Fourth: Even in the ranks of the Socialist Party, Haywood was declared "undesirable" by the Berger-Hillquit leadership. He was expelled in 1912 when he refused to adhere to the pure parliamentarism advocated by the party leadership, who basked in the warm sunshine of the European social-democracy of MacDonald and Henderson, Scheidemann and Legien, Longuet and Thomas, Vandervelde and the elder Adler, Branting and Stauning, who had been in the foreground of the 1910 Copenhagen Congress of the Second Socialist International which Haywood had attended with Berger, Hillquit, Spargo and others. A few Socialists of prominence had joined in the organization of the I. W. W. in 1905 (Eugene V. Debs, A. M. Simons, Charles O. Sherman, Frank Bohn) but none of these were expelled with Haywood. While the Socialist Party warmed toward the A. F. of L., it developed its attack with increasing vitriol against the I. W. W.

But Haywood found an increasing response among the working-class masses from whom he had sprung as the son of a miner at Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1869. His early life was constituted of the years in which the full drift of the mass migration towards the Pacific Coast, "The West," was getting under way in the decades following the Civil War (1861-65). Youthful American capitalism, spanning the continent, developed rapidly, concentrating its forces towards the end of the century.

Haywood became a member of the Western Federation of Miners in 1896, just two years before the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, during which the Dollar Republic burst its capitalist confines and entered upon its imperialist epoch with the bloody

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seizure of the Philippine Islands, and the grabbing of Cuba and Porto Rico under the pretext of waging a "war for humanity" against Spain.

It was in this war that Theodore Roosevelt, Harvard University graduate and lawyer, who had gone West to regain his health on a cattle ranch, organized his "Rough Riders" and gained sufficient jingo fame with this cavalry unit to receive the Republican Vice-Presidential nomination in the national elections of 1900. Roosevelt stepped into the Presidency the following year when President McKinley was assassinated. He used this position as a forum for attack against Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone as "undesirable" of citizenship in the capitalist republic. Instead of destroying Haywood, however, it only resulted in bringing his appeal to the attention of the working class on a nation-wide scale. Hitherto, Haywood's efforts had been confined to the metal-mining districts of the West, where blazed the strikes at Coeur D'Alene, in Idaho, 1893; and Cripple Creek, in Colorado, 1894. Early milestones in the development of the American class-struggle, followed by Leadville in 1896-7, Salt Lake City and the Coeur D'Alene again in 1899; Telluride in 1901; Idaho Springs in 1903 and Cripple Creek again in 1903-4. Yet he had grown to the full stature of a revolutionary working-class leader. The kidnapping from Colorado, the long imprisonment and the death trial in Idaho, the vicious attack by President Roosevelt and the organization of the I. W. W., served to bring Haywood out of Western obscurity, to put the name of "Big Bill" upon the lips of millions of workers the nation over, and to make him a terror to capitalists wherever the slave-driven machinery of privately owned industry hummed.

The temper of certain sections of the American workers in this period may be judged from the declaration of the preamble of the Western Federation of Miners. It declared that:

"There is a class-struggle in society and this struggle is caused by economic conditions; . . . the producer . . . is exploited of the wealth which he produces, being allowed to retain barely sufficient for his elementary necessities; . . . that the class-struggle will continue until the producer is recognized as the sole master of his product; . . . that the working class, and it alone, can and must achieve its own emancipation; . . . and finally, that an industrial

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union and the concerted political action of all wage workers is the only method of attaining this end."

The vicious attacks of city, state and national governments in co-operation with the great exploiters, the brutal and murderous use of the state militia and federal troops, the subservience of the courts, all contributed toward forcing the Western Federation of Miners to turn to political action (the use of the ballot as it was conceived) so that in 1904 we find the miners adopting a statement that:

"We recommend the Socialist Party to the toiling masses of humanity as the only source through which they can secure . . . complete emancipation from the present system of wage slavery . . ."

"Let all strike industrially here and now, if necessary," says another resolution (signed by William D. Haywood) "and then strike in unity at the ballot-box for the true solution of the labor problem by putting men of our class into public office." Yet the leadership of this Socialist Party, in 1908, maneuvered successfully to sidetrack Haywood as the party's candidate for the Presidency because of his unorthodox revolutionary views, although while in prison, he had been candidate for governor of Colorado on both the Socialist and the Socialist Labor Party tickets.

J. M. O'Neill, the editor of the Miners' Magazine, wrote Haywood, at the 13th Convention of the Western Federation of Miners in 1905, that:

"If this convention goes on record, giving its unanimous sanction to the movement that is contemplated in Chicago, such action will be heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific . . . and will create a sentiment that will keep on crystallizing until capitalism will feel that it is threatened in the citadel of its own entrenched power."

The citadel was Chicago, where the conference met on June 27, 1905, and organized itself as the Industrial Workers of the World, to begin, in the words of Debs, "the work of forming a great economic or revolutionary organization of the working class so sorely needed in the struggle for its emancipation."

This was in the year that the Revolution of 1905 was hammering at the gates of Czarism in Russia.

Speaking of the Western Federation of Miners at this first convention of the I. W. W., Haywood said:

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"We have not got an agreement existing with any mine manager, superintendent or operator at the present time. We have got a minimum scale of wages" and ". . . the eight-hour day, and we did not have a legislative lobby to accomplish it."

He wanted at this time to build up the same sort of an organization, not only for the mining industry, but for all industries.

It was this Haywood that went to jail in Idaho, not only as an official of the Western Federation of Miners, but also as an organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, to which the W. F. of M. belonged. The I. W. W. took up the fight for Haywood and his fellow prisoners with great energy. When the struggle became desperate Eugene V. Debs issued his historic appeal, entitled, "*Arouse, Ye Slaves!*" which concluded as follows:

"Whatever is done we must do ourselves, and if we stand up like men from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf, we will strike terror to their (the Mine Owners' Association of the Western states and their Standard Oil backers and pals in Wall Street) cowardly hearts and they will be but too eager to relax their grip upon our throats and beat a swift retreat. We will watch every move they make and in the meantime prepare for action.

"A special revolutionary convention of the proletariat at Chicago, or some other central point, would be in order, and, if extreme measures are required, a general strike could be ordered and industry paralyzed as a preliminary to a general uprising. If the plutocrats begin the program, we will end it."

This declaration marked the highwater mark in the revolutionary utterances of Debs, always close to Haywood. The liberation of Haywood came July 28, 1907. But during his imprisonment the Western Federation of Miners had withdrawn from the I. W. W., afterwards returning to Gompers' A. F. of L., Moyer going with it and clinging close, even to this day, to the official family of the trade union reaction. Pettibone disappeared from the scene of the labor struggle.

This period was crucial in Haywood's activities in the revolutionary movement. His aggressive leadership of labor had brought him close to the gallows. Now Debs, Simons, Sherman, not to mention Moyer, were quickly recoiling into the shell of the Socialist Party

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and its purely parliamentary action in a period when the party leadership was hoping for a big increase in its vote and the sending of large numbers of its members into political office. It was to make the party more "respectable" that the leadership repudiated Haywood, at the same time sacrificing tens of thousands of militant members in doing so.

"Leading" Socialists and "leaders" of the A. F. of L. announced the collapse of the I. W. W. But Haywood never faltered. The I. W. W. did not "receive its death blow" in the words of Max Hayes, the A. F. of L. trade-union Socialist. The I. W. W. turned more to the organization of unskilled and migratory workers, and while Victor L. Berger had gone to Washington as a Socialist Congressman in 1913, Haywood was leading the now historic strike of the textile workers in the mills of the woolen trust at Lawrence, Mass. Year after year, wherever labor rose in revolt, in the coal fields, in the copper mine districts of Michigan and Montana, in the silk mills of Paterson, New Jersey, in the clothing factories of Chicago, in steel towns or lumber camps, Haywood came with his rebellious message to discontented workers. Intuitively exploiters blamed him for strikes in their industries. The I. W. W. was looked upon as a scourge to profits. The jails and prisons of the capitalists and their government held no terrors for Haywood. The malicious attacks of the labor bureaucracy and the Socialist parliamentarians did not trouble him. He went on with his work as he saw it.

He became Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W. W. in 1916 and in the spring of 1917 the United States entered the world war. Here was an opportunity not to be missed by the profit-hungry warmongers to be found in all the great industries. The government, under its hastily adopted war espionage act, launched terrific raids against the I. W. W. in an effort to crush and exterminate the organization. Haywood, with hundreds of others, was arrested. A mass trial was carried out in Chicago before the infamous Judge Landis. Haywood with others received 20-year sentences. Many faced shorter terms in prison. Haywood was sent to the Leavenworth Federal Prison where he was kept for a long time before being released on bail pending an appeal from his conviction.

But now the wave of proletarian enthusiasm born of the Russian Bolshevik revolution reached even to the United States.

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Communist sentiment crystallized in 1919 into the organization of the Communist movement, and Haywood logically found himself in the ranks of the Communists, who became in these days the nightmare of American as well as European capitalists. The Palmer reign of terror was launched in January, 1920, resulting in the arrest of thousands of members of the Communist Party, the Communist Labor Party and the I. W. W. These were the days of political exiles from America. Haywood, now past 50 years of age, most prominent of these exiles, found protection from the rage of the American capitalist reaction under the proletarian power of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Haywood was an agitator of the masses. Although he had skill as an organizer, shown in his activities as an official of the Western Federation of Miners, his greatest ability was called forth in the actual strike struggles. He was not deeply based in Communist theory. But his proletarian instincts never failed to guide him finally along the correct path of struggle, when Debs was led astray by pacifist illusions that held him chained to the social-democratic traitors of the Socialist Party.

Haywood, Debs and C. E. Ruthenberg were the three outstanding figures in the American revolutionary movement, in the period that began with the appearance of American capitalism upon the world imperialist arena in the first two decades of the century, coming to an end in the after-war years with the Dollar Republic, supreme among the bandit nations, facing the Soviet Union, banner bearer of the Proletarian Revolution. Daniel De Leon had died before the war and the Russian Revolution came as a testing-time for revolutionists. Debs failed to recognize in the Bolshevik victory the beginning of the world revolution he had urged for nearly a quarter of a century.

The ashes of Haywood, the agitator of the masses, will rest before the Red Wall of the Kremlin, in Moscow, near the ashes of Ruthenberg, the organizer of the American Communist Party. Not far away is the grave of John Reed, flame bearer of the revolution.

But part of Haywood's ashes will be sent across the sea to be buried near the graves of those other "undesirables," the Haymarket victims (1886) in Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago, linking the

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last century with the present in the American Revolutionary struggle, uniting more closely the liberated masses of the Soviet Union, with the still enslaved and toiling multitudes in the homeland of the most powerful imperialism.

On his dying day, reviewing the resistance of the workers today in the American mine fields and textile mills, Haywood confidently declared:

"The workers of America are also learning the path to revolution, to the seizure of power, to the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the American Communist Party and the Communist International."

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Some Aspects of the Situation in New Bedford

By ALBERT WEISBORD

TWENTY-SIX thousand textile workers of the cotton mills of New Bedford, Massachusetts, have been solidly on strike now for five weeks against a new wage cut of 10% that has been handed down by the mill owners of New England.

The significance of this strike cannot be overestimated by our Party. A brief analysis will make this clear.

In the first place we must understand that the textile industry is the largest primary industry in the U. S. embracing approximately 1,100,000 wage earners totalling about 13% of all the workers engaged in manufacturing enterprises. The organization of these textile workers is one of our greatest tasks.

Secondly, the basic section of the textile industry is the cotton section. Of the 1,100,000 textile workers, 445,000 or 40% of the total are cotton operatives. The organization and revolutionizing of these cotton workers must be the aim of all our strategy in the textile industry.

Yet these cotton workers are the most difficult to organize of all. First of all the cotton manufacturers are united in exceedingly powerful combines and having a long history in the U. S. know how to handle men and strikes effectively. Second, the cotton workers are scattered over a large territory ranging from New England to the South. Third, most of the cotton workers—243,000 of the 445,000—are in the South, and the South is especially difficult and dangerous to organize. Fourth, many of the cotton mills are in mill villages where the workers are provincial and where the terror and power of the mill owners are greatest. Fifth, the masses drawn into the cotton mills are of the most backward strata, made up in large part of those who hitherto have been untouched by the industrialization of America. (Agricultural workers, farmers, and Negroes of the South—French Canadians in the North, etc.). Sixth, the crisis in the textile industry has particularly affected the cotton section of the industry, severely dislocating the productive relations,

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creating large unemployment and greatly lowering the resistance of the cotton workers. Seventh, to these special difficulties must be added the others, general to the textile industry as a whole, namely: (a.) The large number of immigrants of many races and tongues. (b.) The large number of women, youth and even children in the industry. (c.) The intense exploitation, creating extreme poverty and destitution, making the resisting powers of the workers very low indeed. (d.) The existence of company unions, welfare schemes, etc. (e.) The abandonment of the unskilled by the few skilled workers organized in small craft unions that fight each other. (f.) Smallness of left-wing forces in the textile industry.

When we understand these conditions, we can understand why in the great battles that took place in the recent past, the cotton workers, as a whole, were not in the forefront. In 1926 in Passaic, it was the woolen and worsted workers that led the way. In 1924 in Paterson, it was the silk workers. In 1922 it was mainly the woolen and worsted workers in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, similarly in 1919. Indeed we have to go back to 1912 before we see such large numbers of cotton workers acting in so concerted a manner in a struggle against the mill owners as they are now doing in New Bedford.

These considerations make us understand the basic meaning of the New Bedford strike. *This large New Bedford strike of* 26,000 *workers means the wage cutting campaign of the textile mill owners has now reached a point where the widest masses, even those most difficult to organize, are ready to rebel and is another indication of the increasing militancy of certain sections of the working class in America.*

To understand the significance of this strike we must understand the relationship of New Bedford, Mass., to its immediate environment. The textile industry is the greatest industry of New England, employing about 32% of the 1,100,000 workers in New England. Indeed, New England is the largest geographical division of the textile industry in America. 353,000 textile workers or 32% of the entire industry is to be found in New England. Of these 353,000 textile workers, the main body, 165,000 or 47% of the total are cotton workers making up 37% of the cotton industry. 106,000 or 30% of the total are woolen and worsted workers making up 64% of the woolen and worsted industry.

Thus to win New England means to win 32% of all textile workers, 37% of all the cotton workers, 64% of all the woolen

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and worsted workers and to affect 32% of those employed in all the factories in New England.

The key State in New England is Massachusetts. 32% of all its factory workers are in the textile industry:

1. Massachusetts is the largest textile state in the U. S. and in New England (190,000 textile workers). 2. Massachusetts is the largest cotton manufacturing state in the United States and in New England (96,000 workers). 3. Massachusetts is the largest woolen and worsted manufacturing state in the U. S. and in New England (55,000 workers).

The main textile region in New England and in Massachusetts is the New Bedford region. In New Bedford are 28,000 cotton textile workers. Near New Bedford is the city of Fall River with 28,000 more cotton workers. Near New Bedford and Fall River are the valleys of Rhode Island with 30,000 more cotton workers. Thus in the immediate region of New Bedford can be found the bulk of the cotton workers of New England, or 100,000 cotton workers, not to speak of the many thousand other textile workers in the vicinity.

Not only is New Bedford the heart of the main cotton region of New England but it is (with Fall River) the national center for all fine cotton and cotton-silk mixed goods produced in this country. Close proximity to major markets, great capitalist rationalization and production of unique and finest cloths make the New Bedford Mills outstanding. The strike in New Bedford therefore already grips the vitals of the fine cotton goods market of the entire country and offers an excellent opportunity to throw the largest possible masses of textile workers against the bourgeoisie and to bring them closer to our Party.

II

The strike in New Bedford began April 16th, soon after a new wage cut of 10% had been announced by the cotton mill operators in the whole region. This wage cut affected 100,000 in different localities and spared no one, skilled or unskilled. Wages in Massachusetts had been very low already, the census of manufacturers of 1925 giving about $18.35 as the average wage for the year 1925 of all textile workers in Massachusetts. (Note this is the average wage of all the workers including the most skilled and even the foremen of the factories who may be engaged in manual labor.) Since 1925 a new wave of wage cuts had taken place lowering this average to about $17.00 a week. With the new wage cut announced

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this brought the level of wages desperately low. Many experienced men were working for $16 a week, women for $13 to $14 a week, and young workers for $8 to $10 a week. To this must be added that the hours of labor were 48 to 60 a week and that within the last few years the exploitation of the workers had been greatly intensified.

In New Bedford many of the skilled workers were organized in a small independent union, the American Federation of Textile Operatives. The leaders of the A. F. T. O. were intimately connected with the mill owners' political machine. For 8 years Mr. Tansey, the President of the A. F. T. O. was the head of the police force in the city of Fall River. Mr. Binns, another official, became a Justice of the Peace in New Bedford. Always subservient to the mill owners, the officials of the union were persuaded by Mr. Butler to go to Washington and beg the U. S. Congress for a higher tariff so that Mr. Butler could make more profits on the ground that that would mean Mr. Butler could be good to his workers and pay them more wages. As for strikes, for sixteen years these officials had carried on successfully a policy of preventing strikes of the workers against the wage cuts and worsened conditions that had taken place since 1912.

When the new wage cuts took place in New Bedford, taking in as they did the skilled workers as well as the unskilled, the members of the A. F. T. O. demanded a strike vote. Under mass pressure the officials yielded, hoping to defeat the necessary 2/3 vote as had been done in Fall River by these same officials when the vote was counted there and found 11 votes "shy" of the necessary two-thirds.

However, this plan of the corrupt and reactionary officialdom of the A. F. T. O. failed, due to the fact that a *new factor* had now entered the situation. *This was the National Textile Mill Committees, the left wing section of the textile workers.* As soon as the situation became acute, Murdoch and Beal, two left wing textile workers were sent into the field to organize the 25,000 unorganized workers and to build up the left wing movement. At once a leaflet was issued calling on the unorganized workers to strike against wage cuts, to attend the meeting of the A. F. T. O. and compel a strike vote.

This leaflet had the desired result. By an overwhelming vote the proposition of the officials of the A. F. T. O., Batty and Binns and others, to put off the strike vote, was defeated and the strike declared in effect April 16th. Immediately the news spread like wildfire and by Monday, April 16th, the strike was 100% complete

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(with the exception of a small number of mills where wages had not been cut).

The Textile Mill Committees at once raised the demand that the A. F. T. O. form a united front of all the workers for the fight. This was rejected by Batty who denounced the Textile Mill Committees as a Communistic organization, splitting the workers and dangerous to both the mill owners and the A. F. T. O. The T. M. C. then called a large mass meeting of the unorganized workers and began to organize for the fight and into Textile Mill Committees the large mass of workers left abandoned by the misleaders of the A. F. T. O. New demands were raised by the T. M. C. as follows: 1. Abolition of the 10% wage cut. 2. 20% increase in wages 3. 40 hour, 5 day week. 3. Abolition of the speed-up system.

The A. F. T. O. making no efforts to picket the mills or to carry on any kind of a struggle, the field was left open for the T. M. C. Mass picketing was organized and all sections of the workers thrown into the fight. The militant tactics of the left wing leading the T. M. C. have now enabled us to take the lead in the fight and to win the support of the widest sections of the strikers. The best of the workers, those who had been good fighters in the old countries, those who had been active with the I. W. W. in 1912, and those who were the best of the old time anarchist elements have all rallied around the left wing in this struggle.

The entrance of the T. M. C. into the fight has taken the mill owners by surprise. The A. F. T. O. leadership is now quite discredited. In order to fight us better the A. F. T. O. leadership got the members of that organization to join the American Federation of Labor Union, the United Textile Workers, and daily carry on attacks, but to no avail. The left wing only further intrenched itself. On the relief field, the Workers International Relief had begun a drive to help the strikers. The A. F. T. O. officials had done nothing to help those who were not in their union before the strike and had turned over all other relief activities to a "citizens" committee that attacked the new union and told the workers to keep off the picket line. The entrance of the Workers International Relief served to check the strikebreaking activities of the A. F. T. O. leaders on this field also.

As soon as the ineffectiveness of Batty became generally known the capitalist newspapers began to welcome the entrance of the Socialist Party. The first thing the Socialist Party did was to rally round Batty and the contemptible officials of the A. F. T. O. to bolster them up and to hide their treachery. When the Socialist Party

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sent in "Comrade" Manning of the Y. P. S. L. to help Batty he was given a very cordial reception. He was no outsider. He was no agitator, he was no dangerous red. He was taken into the bosom of the bosses at once and his articles played up in all the capitalist papers of the city.

"Comrade" Manning wrote an article for the capitalist papers. This strike, says Manning, is entirely different from Passaic where the Communists controlled.

"In other industrial disputes such as I observed in Passaic and elsewhere, red-hot coals of hate and passion filled the air; violence and bloodshed were on every hand. The police and the strikers regarded each other as mortal enemies, and conflicts were numerous. Here, I find the police, as well as the firemen, contributing to the strikers' fund. And the Chief of Police arms the strikers with his personal credential for collecting!"

Then listen to this: "Professional men, merchants and Labor seem to be united in resisting any attempt to lower the purchasing power of the workers. Behind them, and this is most remarkable, are the local papers whose editorial and news service have been decidedly fair to the strikers' cause."

And finally this: "My final thought is that it has been a joy to work here with the strikers; to observe the intelligent support of a good cause by the local press; to behold with amazement the police; to find the mayor working with the welfare department in its task of relieving distress to hundreds who have daily besieged it since the industrial cessation . . . "

What did Mr. Manning do by this article? His efforts were to prove: 1. The only union to support is Batty's union. 2. Hate and passion is very bad. It is in evidence only where Communists control as in Passaic. 3. The violence and bloodshed in Passaic was due to the Communists, for we see that where there are no Communists the police are very kind as in New Bedford. 4. It is not necessary that strikers and police should look on each other as mortal enemies. In fact they are great friends. The strikers should love the local police, for the police help strikers when in trouble. 5. The mayor (an arch-reactionary Republican, hand in glove with the mill owners) is a wonderful friend of the strikers, giving them credentials to help. 6. The poisonous reptile capitalist press of New Bedford is very fair to the strikers. 7. The business men, that is the Chamber of Commerce and others, are with the strikers one hundred percent. (This includes, of course, the Lions Club, the Rotary Club, the New Bedford Bar Association, the American Legion, and

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all the other "tried and true" "friends of Labor.") To Mr. Manning none of these societies menaced the workers. Only the Communists must be fought.

Is it any wonder that the capitalist press printed this article prominently? Or that the papers warmly supported the Socialist Party?

The Socialist Party was welcomed as the organization that alone could have a chance of doing what the bosses and the Battys could not do, namely, destroy the Communists and left wingers, break up the new union of the hitherto unorganized workers, smash the picket line, and give a free hand for the police to club, jail, and terrorize the strikers after the destruction of their union.

But who is Manning? Who had ever heard of him? The Socialist Party felt that it had not yet put its full force behind the strike,—to support Batty and the police. It decided therefore, to send in Norman Thomas to do the work. First Thomas sends in five dollars to the relief fund of Mr. Batty and the Citizen's Committee. This brings Thomas a front page article in the capitalist papers and his picture. Then it is announced that Thomas will speak for Batty at a mass meeting and that he sends $500 from the Emergency Relief Committee of New York to the Citizens Committee to help them break the strike better. This brings warm approval. Then Mr. Thomas enters the field in person. Workmen's Circle, branch 723, "composed largely of small business men and storekeepers," as the local papers put it, gives Thomas a banquet. The capitalist papers fill the first page with Thomas, one paper putting five pictures of him on the front page at the same time. Everyone is urged to come out to hear him.

When Thomas came into the strike, the strike had been going on for about four weeks. Yet not a word had been said to the strikers about going on the picket line. Not a word was said as to the necessity of militant tactics during the struggle, or about the treachery of the A. F. T. O. leaders. On the contrary through all sorts of subtle means the strikers were given to understand that everybody was with them and they did not need to fight.

The entrance of Thomas was indeed a blow to the strikers. He gave standing and prestige to Batty and his crowd of strike

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sellers. It was a declaration by the Socialist Party that the working class should support not the Textile Mill Committees that were actually doing the strike duties and organizing the unorganized but to support a gang of misleaders that had been exposed already a hundred times to the masses. The appearance of Thomas on the platform was the national signal for the Socialists all over the country to raise funds for the Citizens Committee and defeat any support of the Textile Mill Committees. And since the A. F. T. O. had by now joined the United Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor, it meant that the Socialist Party had made a firm united front with the A. F. of L. bureaucracy against the left wing in the field carrying on the fight.

After Thomas came Paul Blanchard, textile "specialist" for the Socialist Party. In an article in the *New Leader*, Blanchard makes a plea for the workers to leave the Communists and join the "old veterans," leaders of the A. F. T. O. Blanchard acts as a special agent whose duty it is to expose the reds in the strike. He tells how the *Daily Worker* is distributed, how the Communists came into the field and created bitterness where none had been before, how the Communists attack the Citizens Relief Committee, and runs in a defense of Batty, Binns, and the rest.

In a special article for the *New Republic*, reprinted by all of the bosses' papers in New Bedford, Blanchard presses the attack. New Bedford is not Passaic he says. "In Passaic a radical minority, led by outsiders, created a mass movement which came close to being a mob movement." This is the way this yellow renegade characterizes the great Passaic strike of 1926.

Blanchard's main job was to boost the U. T. W. and the A. F. T. O. He writes: 1. "The Communists are splitters because they have come into the field. 2. They are attacking good leaders when they attack the officials of the A. F. T. O. and the A. F. of L. 3. The Communists have organized only a few Portuguese workers who are non-organizable anyway, not knowing the meaning of a union and never paying dues to Batty. 4. While the leaders of the A. F. of L. are tried and true, the Communists are reckless and useless. 5. And what with preachers, police, papers, and business men being with the A. F. T. O. it is necessary for the whole working class to rally round the A. F. T. O. leaders and defeat the Communists."

The Socialist Party has entered New Bedford. After Blanchard comes August Claessens, and Alfred Baker Lewis and an official resolution of the Massachusetts Socialist Party supporting Batty and fighting the real militants. These will do all they can to mask the

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deadliest enemies of the workers and to crush the strike. But they will fail. So many workers have now joined the Textile Mill Committees that it has been reorganized into the New Bedford Textile Workers Union with thousands of members. This new union is in New Bedford to stay. Arrests have now taken place by the score by the "friendly," "smiling" police. "Sympathetic" judges have raised bail ten times above normal and handed out vicious sentences to crush the strike. Women are being manhandled in the streets. Detective agencies are rushing in men to frame up the leaders of the strike.

In spite of these things and the mask which the Socialist Party gives to these black deeds, the workers will win their strike. Throughout the country the new union, the New Bedford Textile Workers Union, will receive the support of all honest workers. And a left wing force will be created throughout the entire textile industry which will give the deathblow to the bosses and their Socialist hounds.

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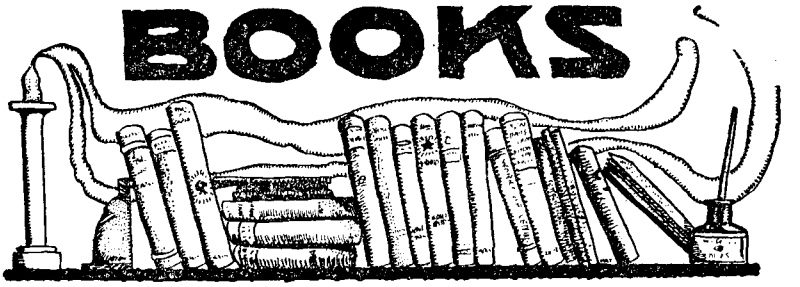

LENINISM, by Joseph Stalin. International Publishers, 457 pp. and index. $2.50.

Written in the compressed, almost telegraphic style that characterizes all Stalin's writings and speeches, the over four hundred and fifty pages of this book contain a wealth of illuminating material on the major problems and viewpoints of Leninism. It is made up of writings and speeches of Stalin, many of which have never been available in English before. Even those previously published in English receive for the first time an adequate translation, free from the inaccuracies and serious errors that marred the translation of such works as "The Theory and Practice of Leninism."

That pamphlet is included in the present volume under the title "Foundations of Leninism." To give an outstanding example of the improvement in translation, I quote only one "slight" change among the many to be found. The pamphlet "Theory and Practice of Leninism" under the head of "The Party is the instrument for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" carries the astonishing statement:

"It does not follow that the disappearance of classes and of the dictatorship will lead to the disappearance of the Party." (p. 73.)

In the new translation this passage is corrected to read:

"It follows from this that as soon as class has been abolished, as soon as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat has been done away with, the Party likewise will have fulfilled its function and can be allowed to disappear." (p. 171.)

Not only is this most valuable little text-book (it was a single lecture delivered at Sverdlov University) corrected and reprinted in full, but the book contains other material of similar character that forms an important supplement to it. Thus there is a section called "Problems of Leninism" which joins issue with certain mistaken viewpoints of Zinoviev as to the nature of Leninism, of Trotsky as to the question of "Permanent Revolution" and with the opposition generally on various questions. Its table of contents suffices to give an idea of the nature of this section of the book. We give the contents in full:

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"1. Definition of Leninism.
2. Core of Leninism.
3. The Question of "Permanent" Revolution.
4. The Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
5. The Party and the Working Class within the System of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
6. The Problem of the Victory of Socialism in one Country alone.
7. The Fight for the Realization of Socialism."

Other important sections of the book containing similar material are the portions entitled:

"Questions and Answers," "Tasks of the Young Communists," and "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists."

The book contains other material of a somewhat different order where the methods of Leninism are brought to bear on the analysis and solution of a particular concrete problem or the political situation of a given moment. They include such matter as Stalin's Report on the Fourteenth Conference of the CPSU; two speeches on "The Nationalist Question"; a lecture to the students of the Far Eastern University on the political tasks of that institution; and the political report of the Central Committee to the Fourteenth Congress of the CPSU.

In spite of the apparent diversity of the material contained in the book it gives an impression of unity because Leninism is a unified science, many-sided in its application. In studying the book, workers should regard the first two sections "Problems of Leninism" and "Foundations of Leninism" as the central core of the work and the rest as supplementary material and examples of "application." Stalin has written and spoken little but that little always says much. Therefore, the book will repay study for every active Communist and deserves to become a basic textbook for the study of Leninism in Workers Schools, study circles and self-study efforts throughout the country.

BERTRAM D. WOLFE

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF REVOLUTION, by Lyford P. Edwards, Ph. D., Chicago; University of Chicago Press.

Burn Starr.

A book with the enigmatic title *The Natural History of Revolution* and published by the University of Chicago Press, suggests at once classroom struggles on revolution which are, as a rule, anaemic harangues on the wickedness of violence and of the "unsocial behavior" of the radical "disrupters" of *status quo*. The introduction to the book by Professor Robert E. Park increases suspicion by a revelatory statement of the value and purpose of the book as he conceives it: "If revolutionists can be made, they can at the same time be prevented; and a study of the conditions under which ordinarily and naturally they seem to arise should throw some light on the way they have been and can be dealt with."

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But after filling a book with sententious banalities and sermonic liberalisms and using repeatedly the pedantic meaningless word-masks of the Chicago sociologists, the author is realist enough, even though seemingly convinced against his will, to offer little hope to his confreres. He writes in the concluding chapter:

"We hear some talk about substituting peaceable evolution for violent revolution, but such talk is only what theologians call "pious opinion"—laudable but imaginative . . . How can a privileged class which ceases to deserve its privileges, be demoted without war? How can a wealthy class, which ceases to merit its wealth, be made poor without violence? When does a social group cease to be useful and become parasitic? What causes of repression exist in our society? What is repression and how is it possible at any moment to measure its extent and nature? How much of it is due to economic conditions? What proportion of intellectuals feel repression themselves? What proportion are aware of its existence in other classes? We must have the answers to these questions and to many more of the same sort before we can construct any machinery which will be adequate to forestall violent revolution."

He would prevent revolution if he could but more sociological investigations are necessary before he can give directions how to do it!

The objective of the book is to show the mechanisms of revolution on the basis of an analysis of the English Puritan Revolution, the American Revolution, the Great French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. Some pet capitalist arguments and rationalizations extensively used to create hostility to revolution, many times exposed by revolutionary writers, are refuted in polite academic manner. Among them are: the charge that revolutions are fomented by "outsiders" against the wishes of the people concerned, the belief that a revolution occurs when the workers are in the most intense misery and not when the workers have tasted wealth (here he uses the Communist Manifesto in his support), the belief that revolution means anarchy, that mob violence is rife during revolution and that revolutionary mobs are different from capitalist mobs and finally that sex perversions and abnormalities markedly increase during revolutionary times.

It is certain that because the book contains these refutations, it will not have the popularity and circulation of Sorokin's vicious book *Sociology of Revolution* which gives the capitalists exactly what they want.

The author exaggerates the role played by the intellectuals in revolutions by declaring that "the first master symptom of revolution is the transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals." He recognizes however, the futility of pre-revolutionary discussion of reform and the hope of change by ballot: "The only solution is to deprive the socially useless people of all their good things and bestow them on socially useful people. This cannot be done by discussion, voting or any other sort of parliamentary procedure . . . . If those who are deprived of the good

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things are outdiscussed or outvoted, they will fight to keep their possessions. The long pre-revolutionary discussion is thus predestined to failure."

He also recognizes that economic incentives lie back of every revolution, an opinion from which Professor Park, true to form, dissents in his introduction. He takes over in a rather crude and ununderstanding manner, Sorel's concept of the "social myth" as a motivating ideal which imbues men with the requisite fiery zeal in a revolutionary situation and makes them willing to sacrifice themselves for a cause. Here he reverts to type, describing the leaders of the Russian Revolution as "evangelists preaching the gospel of St. Marx" with DAS KAPITAL as their "Bible." To a pallid academician any fervent devotion to a cause is bad taste.

The author's treatment of the "Rise of the Radicals in Revolution" deviates from the general pattern of books of this sort which usually show how the revolution was getting along well and democracy was about to triumph when along came some "fanatic radicals" and broke up the deliberations setting up a "horrible dictatorship" in its place. Edwards sees that the extreme incompetence of moderate reformers in military matters, their administrative vacillation and half-way measures bring the revolution to the brink of disaster. "The revolution is on the point of being wiped out in blood and the radicals save it by wiping out its opponents in blood. This is exactly what needs to be done and what the moderate reformers are unwilling and unable to do." He then shows how a "reign of terror" is established of necessity to resist foreign invasion, domestic insurrection, and the sabotaging of office holders who remain in service but retain their old sympathies,—"radishes who are red outside but white inside." When discussing the Russian Revolution, he interprets the Nep and the inner party conflict, as do all capitalist writers who wishfully anticipate the defeat of Communism and the final triumph of the bourgeoisie in Russia.

In his eagerness to expose "professional terror-mongers who capitalize popular ignorance and credulity" in their persecution of radicals, he underestimates the possibilities of the development of a revolutionary spirit in America in the near future. He discredits Carver's optimism but sees no recognizable symptoms of revolution.

"The enormous majority of the American people are not only content with the social order in which they live, but they are enthusiastically loyal to it and inordinately proud of it. Such discontent as exists is superficial and transitory. In regard to the volume of dissatisfaction, no equally numerous society ever had so little . . . . The intelligentsia are prosperous and happy. All the other groups are in the same condition."

If Edwards would go from his cloister on Annandale on the Hudson, to the coal fields, the steel mills, the textile cities and the oil fields, he would encounter workers of America who are not "prosperous and happy."

In summary, the book is a liberal intellectualist's analysis of revolutionary technique, more sympathetic to revolutionists and more intellectually honest than usual but often inept, muddled and incoherent.

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SELF STUDY CORNER

LENINISM AND WAR

(NOTE: With this issue *The Communist*, by arrangement with the Workers School and the National Agitrop Department, begins a series of self-study courses. The courses outlined here aim to provide material for discussion in Workers Party units, study circles, local Workers School branches, and for individual workers studying by themselves. Each lesson will consist of (1) A presentation of the subject in outline form; (2) Questions on the outline; (3) Bibliography.

Recognizing the difficulty for most of our readers of securing the suggested bibliography on "Leninism and War," we are making the outline of this course especially full. Additional reading matter will shortly be available when International Publishers gets out its promised volume of "Lenin on War."

The choice of the present subject as the first self-study course requires no justification.

The lessons divide themselves as follows:

(1) The Coming War and the American Working Class.
(2) The lessons of the World War.
(3) The Tactics of the Struggle Against the War Danger.
(4) The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Question of Revolutionary War.
(5) The Workers' Party and the War Danger.—(Editor.)

LESSON I

THE COMING WAR AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

American Imperialist Aggrandisement and the War Danger

1. The danger of a new imperialist world war in which the United States will be an active and leading participant is pressing upon us. At the same time, the danger of an imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union continues the most significant feature of the present world situation.

But the most important antagonism among the imperialists, that between Great Britain and the United States, as shown in the col-

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lapse of the naval limitations conference at Geneva, the decision of the United States to launch a Navy second to none, the attempt of the U. S. to buy off and split away France from Great Britain (Kellogg treaty offer to Briand, and Coolidge decision to lift the ban on capital export to France) the war between the oil giants (Standard Oil of New York and Royal Dutch Shell), the formation of the Imperial Marketing Board for developing trade between the different parts of the British Empire and the anti-American tariffs, the conflict over debts and reparations, and the determination of the U. S. to extend and intensify its domination over Latin America (Havana Conference) in order to beat back competition.

Though Great Britain is still the driving force of international capitalist reaction, American imperialism is playing an increasingly dominant role in the world.

The very trend toward rationalization and partial stabilization of capitalism in Europe, with the aid of American capital, is hastening a deep-going crisis arising out of the sharpening competition among the big capitalist powers for markets.

Herein lies the growing danger of a new imperialist world war. The developing irreconcilable antagonisms among the imperialist powers are brought into bold relief by the increasing hostility between Great Britain and the United States. The antagonisms between America and England of today has taken the place of the pre-war conflict between British and German imperialism as the focal point of conflict among the capitalist countries. The struggle between the imperialist giants of today, as of yesterday, is over the redistribution of the world markets, sources of raw material, markets for capital, and spheres of influence.

The general acuteness of the struggle and the insolubility of the contradictions among the imperialist powers is evidenced by the League of Nations Economic Conference fiasco at Geneva, the growth of International cartels in Europe, the widening chasm between England and the United States on all fronts, the increasing tense relations between France and Italy, the dissatisfaction of Germany, still stripped of colonies, and the grave situation in the Pacific, particularly among Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, over China.

2. Despite all of these antagonisms the smashing of the Soviet Union as the center of world revolution and the destruction of the Chinese revolutionary movement remain the central objective of all the imperialist powers. In the Soviet Union and China we have the two greatest markets which the imperialists are eager to appropriate. But the Soviet Union has already freed itself from the

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clutches of imperialist exploitation. In China, despite temporary setbacks, the proletariat in alliance with the peasantry is menacing the very foundations of imperialism and its agents the Kuomintang, and other militarists.

Thus, in spite of all the antagonisms among the imperialist powers they are still forming a common front against the Soviet Union and revolutionary China.

3. American imperialism is continuing its co-operation with Great Britain and Japan against the revolutionary forces of China. Witness the role of Admiral Bristol in working together with and honoring the butchers of the Canton Soviet. Notice the congratulations heaped upon Chiang-Kai-Shek by the American capitalist press over the barbarous massacre of thousands of workers in Canton and the rest of China. Notice the latest co-operation in Manchuria. But this very co-operation contains within it the germs of future conflicts between the imperialist powers for the division of China.

But the most brutal expression of American aggrandisement is today reflected in its drive on Latin America. The imperialist war on Nicaragua, the fake good-will flights of Lindbergh, the planned network of Central American airways, the Wall Street machinations at the Havana Conference, the sending of Morgan's agent, Morrow, to Mexico, forcing Mexico to surrender on the oil law dispute, increasing penetration of and the tightening grip on the resources of Latin America. American imperialism is determined to make all of South and Central America secure economic hinterland of Wall Street, a reservoir of tremendous sources of raw material in its coming war.

The central task of our Party today is the fight against American imperialist aggrandisement and for the defense of the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution. In the face of the billion dollar navy being rushed, of the tremendous increase of militarism, of the continued murder of Nicaraguans by American marines, and of the dastardly role played by the American armed forces in China, the fight of our Party against the War danger is no longer an abstract campaign, one of mere propaganda, but assumes a most practical and tangible character.

B. Growth of and Increasing Domination by American Imperialism

1. At the expense of Europe, the world's economic center of gravity has been shifted from Europe to America. The center of world economy is moving from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

America's estimated wealth is a minimum of four hundred billion dollars. More than half the world's monetary gold is now

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possessed by the United States; a rise from $1,812,000,000 in 1914 to $4,565,000,000 in 1927. With but seven percent of the world total population within its boundaries, America controls the bulk of the word's resources; for instance, forty-four percent of the world's coal, seventy percent of the oil produced, fifty-two out of every hundred tons of steel, sixty percent of the cotton and corn and half the world's railways, copper and pig iron.

There has been a tremendous growth in mass production, efficiency, and general productivity. In the last quarter of a century the population rose 54%, the number of gainfully employed in manufacturing increased 87% and the quantity of manufactures produced rose 178%. Thus output increased nearly 50% per capita. From 1919-25 the volume of motor-car production increased 204% while the number of workers rose 24%.

A tremendous accumulation of capital is going on. From 1880 to 1922 the amount of capital in the U. S. has increased by six and one-half times. The national bank assets are now at their highest point, being close to thirty billion dollars. The total bank deposits now are about forty billion dollars. The amount of capital invested per worker in mining is $10,500; in the manufacturing industries $5,250 and on the steam railroads $8,000.

At the same time a huge concentration of capital and centralization of ownership and operation is taking place. There are over a thousand factories in the U. S. employing more than a thousand men each, over a total of about 2½ million workers. There are more than ten thousand factories, each having an annual output of over a million dollars.

There is a marked trend toward consolidation on the railways, in the coal fields, in the public utility industries, in banking, oil, steel, and newsprint industries. Big combines, mergers, trustifications are the order of the day in the basic industries. New York's biggest banks now control more than sixty percent of the country's banking resources.

The Federal Trade Commission has declared that "about one percent of the estimated number of decedents own about 59% of the estimated wealth and more than ninety percent was owned by about 13% of the decedents."

The dramatization of the growing concentration of capital and the increasing domination of American economic life by finance

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capital came recently with the selection of J. P. Morgan, Kingpin of American finance, as head of the United States Steel Corporation, the country's biggest industrial company.

2. Within the past five years, there has been a tremendous growth in the export of capital from America. In 1923 the United States exported a total of $495,662,100. In 1927 the total export of capital from the United States was $1,575,960,575. Within the last year alone the gain in the export of capital was 8.4%. Since the opening of the last world war there have been exported from the United States, exclusive of government loans, a minimum of fifteen billion dollars of capital.

The decision of the New York Stock Exchange to provide for the listing of American certificates for foreign stocks, marks a most significant step in the development of America as the leading creditor country. It indicates (1) the growing domination of the world's resources by American capital (2) the tremendous accumulation of capital in the United States and the pressing need for its reinvestment outside of the United States because of its already overdeveloped productive capacities of American industry, and (3) it lays a further economic basis for the downward revision of the American tariff schedule and its consequent monumental political changes.

On war debts alone America is already collecting 200 million dollars a year in interest and principal retirement. The total annual income received by the American bourgeoisie on their foreign investments is now well over a billion dollars.

3. Simultaneously, with the gigantic accumulation of export of capital, there has developed a section of the bourgeoisie totally divorced from the process of production yet owning huge quantities of stocks and bonds. Recent years have witnessed a marked growth of a rentier class in the United States. An especially parasitic section of this group is the one owning tax-exempt federal, state and municipal securities the total of which is steadily rising and already amounts to about 16 billion dollars wholly tax-exempt and an approximately equal sum of partially exempt securities. These securities are being issued at the rate of more than a billion dollars a year.

This phenomenon is of immeasurable political significance for the class relations within and the foreign policies of the United States.

4. The basic forces making for the intensification of the American imperialist drive for foreign markets for its commodities and its surplus capital are:

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(a) Over-development of its industrial productive capacities: On the basis of the 1923 census of manufactures findings, the general excess of industrial capacity over production was 26% in 1925. Since then this overdevelopment of productive capacities has gone on apace, especially as a result of the great industrialization of the South.

(b) Surplus Credit: There is literally a plethora of credit in the United States. American capital must find new outlets for the export of its surplus capital. Thus, Coolidge lifted the ban on the export of American capital to France despite the fact that the cause for its having been first placed—the failure of France to reach a debt-funding agreement with the United States—has not yet been removed.

(c) There is continued increase in competition from partially stabilized Europe as shown in the formation of huge international cartels—chemical firms, steel firms, aluminum, copper, silk and rail. Thus Dr. Julius Klein, Director of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, told the House Appropriations Committee that "there are a number of developments which will require the most careful attention, the first is the unmistakable evidence of stiffening of European competition, notably in the development of 'cartels' or trade combinations. This is one of the most outstanding trade factors of our time and I hope the Committee will give it most careful consideration.

"They are causing deepest concern throughout this country particularly where steel rails, tubes, aluminum, enamel-ware, artificial silk, copper, electrical bulbs, plate glass, glass bottles and wire are manufactured. . . .

"There is another phase of competitive effort that you should have fully in mind and that is that the individual governments in Europe are preparing with a seriousness and intensity never manifested before for a new drive for foreign markets. We noticed it at the recent Geneva Economic Conference; at the International Chamber of Commerce meeting at Stockholm."

(d) The marked recession in domestic economy is a further reason for the sharpening of American imperialist aggressiveness in the chase for foreign markets. This explains the recent manoeuvers to obtain a firmer hold on the Latin-American resources. It like-

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(Note: The above material under A and B is taken from the thesis adopted by the Central Committee of the Workers Party at its Plenum of February, 1928.)

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wise explains the tightening of the grip on the Philippines and the development of systematic plans for a huge American foreign trade apparatus, particularly in the Orient.

(e) It must be noted that in comparison with the other capitalist countries, American imperialism has been enjoying the tremendous advantage of a large domestic market. One, however, must not conclude that this market is unlimited. The present recession in economy and the desperate condition in American agriculture are among the most serious factors undermining the domestic market. This growing limitation of the domestic market is one of the primary causes impelling American capitalism to intensify its drive for foreign markets.

C. The Task of the American Working Class in the Struggle Against War

1. Only under the leadership of the working class can a real struggle against war be conducted. The liberals, such as Wheeler, Borah, etc., delude with congressional investigations (which will never be made and would not amount to anything if they were) and cause the protest of the masses to evaporate in wordy phrases and thoroughly dangerous pacifist illusions. The role of the liberals and pacifists must be exposed. If they succeed in rallying the masses behind them they will break the will of these masses to struggle and turn them over to imperialism as those who are frankly conservative cannot.

2. The difficulties of the struggle against war must be frankly and clearly explained to the working class. We must not promise easy methods of preventing war and easy victory in the struggle against war. We must urge organization for such struggle but also for conduct of the working class in war if war cannot be prevented.

3. Drawing from the experiences of 1916 and 1917, we must give a clear picture of how America enters a war, and from the experiences of 1914 how a war breaks out. The "He kept us out of war" campaign of Wilson, the futile role of Bryan, the powerlessness of the conscientious objectors and the impotence of the so-called irreconcilable senators (LaFollette, etc.) must be recalled. The successful lies and deceit of the master class in which they manage to make war always appear "defensive" and the "enemy" fiendish violators of all "laws of humanity;" the role of Gompers

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and other labor bureaucrats, the role of the Socialist Party with its open treachery of one wing—Walling, Spargo, Russell, etc.—and the concealed treachery of the other wing—sabotage of the St. Louis Resolution, voting for the victory arch and the war loan by Hillquit, Lee, etc. why the master class is easily successful in working up sentiment (control of the press, use of censorship, etc.) and in sweeping the masses into war (power of the state, etc.) why it is an illusion to believe that at the last moment war can be prevented by a single revolutionary act, by a general strike or by mass demonstrations. The majority of the American masses were unquestionably against America's entering the last war but the protest was quickly silenced except for the real revolutionists.

4. No diversion of energy to dream of a general strike "when the time comes," but all energy directed to the *present task*, to the struggle against the present war preparations, against imperialist aggression, and imperialist policy and to the preparation of the working class itself. Strong industrial and political organization, revolutionization of the trade unions and organization of the unorganized, separation of the masses from the capitalist parties by a labor party compaign, building of a powerful Communist Party which alone will conduct and lead a revolutionary struggle against war (no illusions must be built as to the possibility of a labor party carrying on a real struggle against war). Strong shop nuclei in basic industries, especially in the war industries, chemical factories, metal factories, mining, etc. Preparation of the party and the masses that follow it for an understanding of the real nature of the struggle against war. Mass agitation against the war danger and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

5. Active agitation on each new development, such as new developments in China, Nicaragua, the Arcos raid, the Voykoff murder, etc.

6. Exposure of all the manoeuvers and shadow-fighting of the liberals and socialists (the adjournment of the Senate to avoid "embarrassing" the Havana Conference. The Socialist Party proposal for arbitration between Nicaragua and the United States. The cheap verbal fireworks of the liberals in the Senate. The tremendous increase of armaments under disarmament slogans, etc.).

7. The international revolutionary struggle against war in 1914-18 under the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks must be explained in detail. Lenin's program for converting imperialist war

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into civil war. The program of the Communist International for struggle against the coming war. The example of Ruthenberg and Debs with criticism of Debs' failure to draw the necessary conclusions. The example of the revolt of the American troops in Archangel and the strike of the Pacific Coast Longshoremen against shipping ammunition to Kolchak and other such examples should be tied up with the Bolshevik tactics of struggle against war.

8. Our struggle against war does not blind us to the fact that war will break out in the long run in spite of our struggle, because the very nature of imperialism is such as to make war inevitable until imperialism and capitalism are overthrown. But the struggle against war can delay it, can give us a chance to strengthen our forces and build up today a powerful opposition to war at home and in other imperialist countries, as well as strengthening the Soviet Union. When war comes we must utilize it to arouse the masses to struggle against imperialism for the overthrow of the capitalist system and on the side of the workers of the other countries of the world and especially of the "enemy" the Soviet Union. We stand with the Chinese revolution, we stand with the Nicaraguan liberation movement, and we stand with the Soviet Union, which is a country of all the workers of the world. Marx said "The workers have no country to defend" but since then Lenin, following the principles of Marxism, has given us a country to defend. The tasks before us in connection with the struggle demand tremendous and heroic efforts, careful preparation, development of our forces under the leadership of the Party and the building of a powerful Communist Party.

Literature on Lesson 1

1. Lenin's instructions to the Hague Delegation.
2. Thesis on the war danger of the May Plenum of the ECCI.
3. Report of Rykov at the August Plenum of the CC of the CPSU (Inprecorr).

Questions for Discussion on Lesson 1

1. What are the sources of the danger of war in the world today?
2. Why would the imperialist powers be ready to unite in spite of their differences against the Soviet Union and against the Chinese revolution?

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3. In what respect has the antagonism between America and England taken the place of the antagonism between Germany and England of the pre-war period?
4. What are the forces making for the intensification of America's imperialist drive?
5. Would the advice of the so-called left wing of the second international that the Soviet Union cease supporting the revolutionary world movement, lead to peace, as the socialists pretend?
6. How would a war in which the Soviet Union is one of the participants differ from the world war of 1914? How would our attitude as workers in such a war differ from our attitude on the war of 1917? What would our attitude in both cases have in common?
7. Why is it dangerous to boast about stopping the next war by a general strike? Why is it dangerous to tell the workers that there will be no war if they refuse to fight?
8. Give a list of recent events in American politics and in international relationships which prove the fact that war may break out at any moment either between imperialist powers or against the Soviet Union?

{Next Month: "LESSONS OF THE WORLD WAR"}

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